

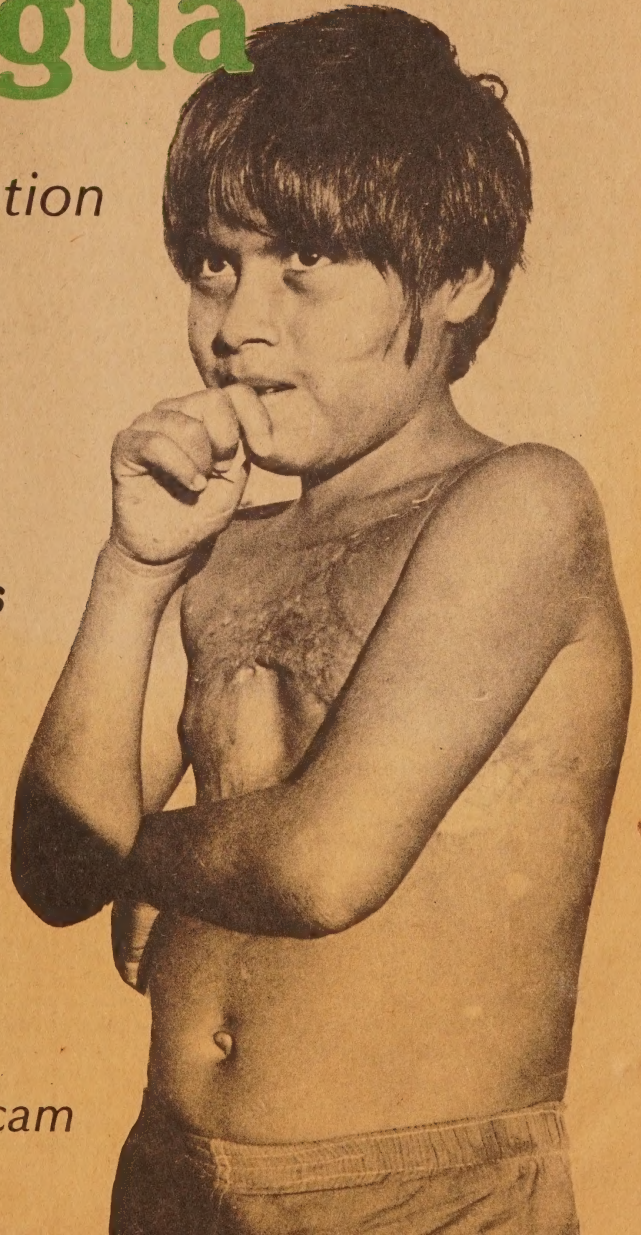


Christianity and Crisis

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Nelson



Two Approaches to Nuclear Weapons

Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
Raymond Hunthausen

Daniel H. Pollitt:
The Dark Side of Abscam

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about this issue

UNDER THE HEADING "Documentation: Two Mentalities," the issue contains the texts of two recent addresses having to do with nuclear weapons. Speaking before the Foreign Policy Association on June 14, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr., set forth the Reagan Administration's approach to arms control for the first time. A month earlier Roman Catholic Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen of Seattle, addressing the Pacific Northwest Synod of the Lutheran Church in America, called for unilateral disarmament and asked his hearers to join him in considering tax resistance to protest the arms race. (Text, page 229.)

The point of this juxtaposition is not to damn one speech and praise the other. It is, rather, to provoke thought. Because they start from such radically different premises, the two speeches cast light on each other. The bring us back to basics.

Secretary Haig's understanding of arms control policy can be and has been criticized on conventional grounds. *New York Times* analyst Leslie H. Gelb, assessing the speech, says it implies a policy of "buying weapons first and worrying about arms control implications later"; the address as a whole is "laden with a sense of the limitations rather than the possibilities of arms control." Other criticisms in the same vein could be voiced.

Yet Secretary Haig is not wrong in claiming to speak in continuity with the American arms control tradition. That tradition acknowledges that the deployment of nuclear weapons creates extraordinary risks for all of humanity. It accepts that the US and the USSR can and should negotiate agreements to contain that risk—to slow, halt and eventually reverse the nuclear arms race.

But the tradition also says, with at least equal force, that any such agreements must be fully verifiable and must produce a true balance of forces. However benignly or hopefully one may look upon the Soviet Union, few outside its borders wish to entrust it with the future of political and religious freedom, or with the preservation of cultural pluralism. Power matters; absolute power corrupts; to grant the Soviet Union a monopoly of nuclear weaponry or even a decisive edge in nuclear strength would be to create irresistible temptations. If Soviet Communism has lost some of the messianism that led to its condemnation by Reinhold Niebuhr, part of the reason is that Communist messianism has had nowhere to go in the face of the countervailing power of the US and its allies.

In this journal, which has always taken seriously

the reality of power and the consequences of powerlessness, this basic rationale for US policy on strategic weapons cannot be lightly dismissed—not even when all allowances are made for our own country's abuse of power, not even when there is reason to suspect that our policymakers lack the will to engage in serious negotiation toward reduction of nuclear arsenals. Of course it is insane to contemplate the waging of nuclear war. Of course the world in the nuclear era needs another way, other than war, to resolve its conflicts. But what follows? As Niebuhr once wrote, the flaw in the reasoning of antiwar idealists is to assume that what is necessary is therefore feasible.

But when this has been said, not all has been said that needs to be heard. Archbishop Hunthausen addresses US strategic policy from a point outside the tradition just described. Granted, there is not much in his address that acknowledges the legitimate uses of military power; granted, there are passages suggesting that our leaders and we ourselves insist on maintaining a nuclear capacity *only* for the sake of retaining our position of global power and privilege. Emphatically, however, his is not a new version of "better red than dead." The Archbishop is concerned, not so much with the suffering that would be visited upon us in the event of nuclear war, but with the devastation we are equipped and—it seems—prepared to inflict. The nuclear arms race is described as a test of wills. Though our policy is said to be designed to deter the outbreak of nuclear war, it has to acknowledge the possibility of war; and, of late, some of its makers begin to speak of the possibility of winning such a war. Thus the policy asks us to have the will to kill tens or hundreds of millions of people in defense of our values.

Archbishop Hunthausen is hardly the first to ask whether that policy can be reconciled with the faith of a Christian. But he asks it forcefully, and he puts the question in the new context created by the development of first-strike weapons. We think our readers (and we) should think about the question.

Yes, it's August, but sorry there's still more thinking to be done: See page 223 for a dissident view on the Abscam affair. Author Daniel Pollitt, associate and friend of one of the defendants, does not expect agreement but does ask reflection. Seven of the convictions have now been upheld by District Judge George C. Pratt but are being appealed to higher courts.

Documentation: Two Mentalities

Arms Control for the 1980's: Toward an American Policy

Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

This is the slightly abridged text of an address delivered by Secretary of State Haig before the Foreign Policy Association July 14. It is meant to be read in conjunction with an address by Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen, which begins on page 229. See also "About This Issue," page 218.

THE ISSUE THAT I WOULD LIKE to discuss today, [is] the vitally important issue of the future of arms control in this decade of the 1980's facing Americans. There is hardly a subject which enjoys or is a focus of greater international attention, especially recently, among our allies in Western Europe, and with good cause.

This is true because we are living in an age when man has conceived the means of his own destruction. The supreme interest of the United States has been to avoid the extremes of either nuclear catastrophe or nuclear blackmail. Beginning with the Baruch Plan, every President has sought international agreement to control nuclear weapons and to prevent their proliferation. But each chief executive has also recognized that our national security and the security of our allies depend on American nuclear forces as well.

President Reagan stands in this tradition. He understands the dangers of unchecked nuclear arms. He shares the universal aspiration for a more secure and peaceful world. But he also shares the universal disappointment that the arms control process has delivered less than it has promised.

One of the President's first acts was to order an intense review of arms control policy, the better to learn the lessons of the past in the hope of achieving more lasting progress for the future. Two fundamental conclusions have emerged from this review.

First, the search for sound arms control agreements should be an essential element of our program for achieving and maintaining peace.

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Second, such agreements can be reached if negotiations among adversaries about their national security interests are not dominated by pious hopes and simplistic solutions.

The task of arms control is enormously complex. It must be related to the nation's security needs and perspectives. As Churchill put it, "You must look at the facts because they look at you." An American arms control policy for this decade must take into account the facts about our security and the lessons that we have learned about what works—and what does not work—in arms control.

Despite the extraordinary efforts at arms control during the 1970's, the world is a less secure place than it was 10 years ago. We began the process with the expectation that it would help to secure the deterrent forces of both the United States and the Soviet Union. But Moscow's strategic buildup has put at risk both our crucial land-based missiles and our bombers. Simultaneously, the Soviets have continued a massive buildup of conventional forces and have used them with increasing boldness. Their armies and those of their surrogates have seized positions that threaten resources and routes critical to Western security.

Arms Control and Risks of War

We cannot blame our approach to arms control alone for our failure to restrain the growth and use of Soviet power. The Soviet Union did not feel compelled to agree to major limitations and adequate verification in part because the United States did not take steps needed to maintain its own strategic and conventional capabilities. Nor did we respond vigorously to the use of Soviet force. The turmoil of the 1960's, Viet Nam and Watergate all contributed to this passivity. As a result, the basis for arms control was undermined. We overestimated the extent to which the Strategic Arms Limitation

Talks would help to ease other tensions. We also underestimated the impact that such tensions would have on the arms control process itself.

This experience teaches us that arms control can only be one element in a comprehensive structure of defense and foreign policy designed to reduce the risks of war. It cannot be the political centerpiece or the crucial barometer of US-Soviet relationships, burdening arms control with a crushing political weight. It can hardly address such issues as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq war, the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia—which is the subject of our UN conference here this week—the Libyan invasion of Chad, or Cuban intervention in Africa and Latin America. Instead, arms control should be an element—a single element—in a full range of political, economic and military efforts to promote peace and security.

The lessons of history and the facts of international life provide the basis for a realistic set of principles to guide a more effective approach to arms control. All of our principles are derived from a recognition that the paramount aims of arms control must be to reduce the risks of war. We owe it to ourselves and to our posterity to follow principles wedded exclusively to that aim.

Our first principle is that our arms control efforts will be an instrument of, not a replacement for, a coherent allied security policy. Arms control proposals should be designed in the context of the security situation we face, our military needs and our defense strategy. Arms control should complement military programs in meeting these needs. Close consultation with our allies is an essential part of this process, both to protect their interests and to strengthen the Western position in negotiations with the Soviet Union.

If, conversely, we make our defense programs dependent on progress in arms control, then we will give the Soviets a

Continued on page 226

Autumn Cometh

C&C will resume its biweekly schedule with the issue of September 21.

Growth Pains in Nicaragua

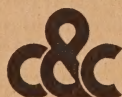
Anne Nelson

I FIRST SET FOOT in Nicaragua on Easter Sunday, 1980. The Sandinista revolution was just approaching its first birthday, and it was in its early bloom. To the north, Archbishop Romero had just been murdered in a church in San Salvador. Bodies appeared regularly on Guatemalan roadsides, and radio stations in Guatemala City were sprayed by machine-gun fire for reporting them. No one north of Miami had even heard of Honduras. Policy-makers in the Carter Administration were still scratching their heads over Nicaragua, not particularly liking what they saw, but not taking any punitive action either. Nicaragua had seen the end of the fighting and was beginning to tally the damage, having won, for this brief moment, some breathing space.

Since then I have been back several times, not "working the country" in an intense journalistic sense, as I have other countries, and as I did Nicaragua the first time in.

In some ways it seemed there were already too many specialists to justify my entrance into the already crowded field; in other ways, my path simply led in different directions, specifically, north to El Salvador. But I have never ceased to be a Nicaragua-watcher, and the more time I spend in Central America, the greater my belief that we must look at that region as a whole piece of closely interrelated parts, measuring political and economic gains and losses in a Central American context.

Not so long ago, for example, there was a spate of newspaper editorials on the tragedy of human rights violations in El Salvador and Nicaragua. For those of us who have lived several months in both El Salvador and Nicaragua over the past two years, the comparison was ludicrous. The Sandinista revolution has created its share of disappointments, but they do not include headless bodies along the roadside shrugged off by a junta "not



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Credits:

Cover design by Carl Bjorn. Cover photo by Anne Nelson shows a Nicaraguan boy watching a Sandinista rally in Managua. The scars on his chest, he said, were caused by fires started by bombs dropped on slum sections of the city by Somoza's aircraft during the civil war.

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responsible" for the actions of its military. Sandinista jails have been documented as being unduly uncomfortable, but for want of mattresses, not for surfeit of electric shocks.

Two years ago July 19 the ragtag army of Sandinistas marched triumphantly into the capital city of Managua. It had been a strange little war with few real pitched battles; more a prolonged series of skirmishes, really, and the steady erosion of Somoza's already lukewarm international support. For more than six months before, various combinations of anti-Somoza Nicaraguans had wended their way to Washington to look for concrete help in getting rid of him. The Carter Administration wasn't sure whether and how such a thing should be done; it was also uncomfortable with the presence of Sandinistas, strident young men who seemed to emulate the Ché model of Latin American revolutionary, sprinkled among the proper businessmen and priests. As time wore on, the only way to unseat Somoza appeared to be the military route, and the Sandinistas were the only opposition sector with military capacity. While Washington was hemming and hawing about what should be the proper mix for a Nicaraguan opposition government, the business sector was resignedly throwing its support behind the Sandinistas to buy them arms in the black markets of Miami and San Jose.

A Shocking Victory

No one—including Washington—was more shocked by the Sandinista victory than the more doctrinaire groups of Central American revolutionaries. In Guatemala and El Salvador they had been struggling for decades, trying to refine their techniques of integrating all of the groups who would profit by the overthrow of the existing regimes. The peasants were the historically oppressed; the workers in the city were a growing economic force but an untapped political one; the university students were a traditional source of new ideas and challenge to authority; the Catholic Church was reconsidering its own position in society and a large part of it was siding with the poor. But to meld these groups, with their wildly different interests and orientations, into a functioning political (or military) organization that could weather surveillance and periodic purges by the Government's intelligence and military apparatus—that was a lot to ask.

In El Salvador and Guatemala the problem of forging unity among these sectors serves to buy time for the existing regimes, perhaps even more than the military aid they get from the US. How did Nicaragua manage so quickly? It didn't. The open secret in Nicaragua is that neither the Sandinistas, nor the mass tactics of a popular uprising, and certainly not the masterminds of Havana, defeated Somoza. Somoza defeated Somoza. He had presumed he was invincible, and he was sloppy: It was a mistake the Salvadoran and Guatemalan regimes would not repeat.

ANNE NELSON spent a working vacation in Nicaragua while reporting on El Salvador for *The New York Times*, C&C and other publications (see "El Salvador Revisited," issue of July 20).

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But the problem for the Sandinistas was that after the defeat of Somoza, the country's political organizations had yet to be created. In a very real sense, they were not just teaching people to read, they were effectively meting out democracy. Precisely "how much democracy" is good for people, of course, is a question that has been hotly argued by every nation in Western culture that has ever attempted to employ the concept, including our own.

Nicaragua is a scarred country in many senses, and one of them is the economic. It was inevitable that for the first year after the defeat of Somoza, Nicaraguan society would be more or less content to celebrate his absence. It was also inevitable that by the second year the people would expect more; in some cases, miracles. The average Nicaraguan spends a lot of time complaining about the economy and blaming it on the Government. Part of this seems to be a newfound joy in finding that now one is *allowed* to openly blame the Government; another part is disappointment that the Government hasn't been able to work an economic miracle. Nicaragua has never produced much by way of manufactured goods, and much of the little existing industrial infrastructure—factories, machinery, roads, telephone lines—was damaged or destroyed by the earthquake and the civil war. Nicaragua exports cotton and beef, but it must import basic grains to feed its people. Sugar, one of its most controversial commodities today, is exported to gain precious foreign exchange, creating hugely unpopular shortages at home.

Leaving aside for the moment all of the storm and fury that is attendant to Central American topics these days, the scenes that follow are not a complex policy analysis, nor an examination of what developments in Nicaragua mean to us. Instead, they are observations and reflections on a new government and its people reacting to each other, struggling to invent a political economy from the bottom up. Today's Nicaragua is at once a mad political scientist's playground of rampant internationalized conflict, and a coinciding wonderland of opportunity for planting new political systems in a virgin field. Finally, these remarks are, like the best and the worst of foreign news coverage, the subjective notes of an outsider passing through.

The Teachers Taught

April 1980: It was the sort of house, not uncommon in rural Nicaragua, where no one bothered to shoo the chickens off the bed. Children and pigs padded across the dirt floors with more or less the same frequency. The only way to get to the place was over a steep, pitted dirt road—by jeep if you were a landlord or a foreigner, on foot if you were anyone else.

The girls trudged up the hill—up to the house where the chickens and children lived—looking like anything but proper young ladies from León. They wore dusty blue jeans and heavy field boots with a kind of shy swagger one doesn't often find in upper- or middle-class Latin American women. Although none was over 15, all had volunteered to join the literacy campaign to help teach the country people to read. They worked in groups of

eight. They lived with the families they were teaching, receiving a minuscule subsidy from the Government so as not to strain the family rice-and-bean budget.

Many things impressed me during our conversation that hot afternoon. One was the girls' conviction that they had learned more from the campesinos in human values than they could possibly have taught in terms of mere literacy. One was their derision of their parents' purported belief that the campesinos were "inferior"—derision that came with that wonderful know-it-all attitude of 14-year-olds when they first experience the sensation of being overwhelmingly, provably, triumphantly right. Another revelation was the campesinos' outright reverence for their teachers: One gawky 18-year-old told me earnestly that he thought they were "beautiful saints come to help us." The final surprise was what the girls said they wanted to be when they grew up—"civil engineer," "dentist," "architect"—and their utter unawareness of North American-style feminism. It was going to be an interesting revolution, and it had only begun.

What was happening in that picture? The peasants, learning to read at the beginning of the Sandinista rule, would naturally associate an informed and participatory relationship toward government—unheard of under Somoza—with the Sandinistas. But perhaps even more importantly, 80,000 educated young people, who may have participated in the insurrection in a marginal way or not at all, became active parts of the peasant-student alliance writ large. In other words, they came to have a vested interest in the new order while, for one crucial summer vacation, their coveted birthright membership in the middle and upper classes was suspended. Perhaps the Sandinistas, anticipating some of the troubles ahead, made a very calculated decision as to where they wanted the bedrock of their support. The literacy campaign was a big investment—some \$20 million—for the bankrupt new Government, but the lessons were directed to the teachers as well as the taught.

January 1981: The marketplace named after Israel Lewites is on the outskirts of Managua, but then Managua is a city where everything looks like outskirts. The market was chosen for the weekly Sandinista innovation called "Cara al pueblo"—literally, "Face the Nation." But here the politicians didn't have the protective distancing of the TV screen, and the questions came not from well-groomed, pre-briefed, play-by-the-rules moderators, but from average guys with their own real grievances.

The market was jammed; people occupied all the folding chairs, and more stood on the fringes. Vendors hawked ice cones and sodas to the crowd. Sergio Ramirez, a civilian on the junta, was up on the platform, as were about eight other Government representatives, most of them having to do with economic matters.

And they were squirming. "Why haven't you brought down the price of eggs?" one woman demanded. She really wanted to know; one can fantasize about how Reagan would try to finesse the question. Another fellow monopolized the microphone for nearly 15 minutes with his outrage at standing in line for sugar rations. The sugar shortage was temporary, they told him—"It's been

going on for a year!" he retorted sharply—and we all understand, they said soothingly, how we have to export our sugar crop for the moment to get foreign credits for machinery. But the man was not satisfied; he had to be forced to surrender the mike.

Its inheritor had a heartfelt but economically confused complaint about the evils of the black market, where Nicaraguan *cordobas* were being eagerly proffered at only half their official rate for dollars. The foreigners get us coming and going, he said. The response from the platform was a promise to crack down on the black market, but everyone knew that any such measures would be weakened by the country's desperate need for dollars, whatever the price.

Arming the Revolution

Only a few days earlier Ramirez and his colleagues had been able to participate in a different mode of wooing the masses. In Central America mass demonstrations often take the place of both social events and Gallup polls—at least, at those times that allow either large gatherings or any other expressions of public opinion to take place. Nicaragua's favorite post-revolutionary gathering, it seems, was the send-off for the literacy campaign the previous year. No one, especially at that moment, could be opposed to literacy; the plaza was filled with more than 250,000 people.

But 1981 began on a different note. Seven young soldiers had been killed in a border clash with exiled National Guardsmen working out of Honduras. Their coffins and their families were given places of honor on the podium, and the population of Nicaragua was being summoned to the citizens' militia in their name.

The number of participants in the rally, it was said, had fallen off over the past year. This time there were probably no more than 200,000. No one had been "forced" to go, but there was certainly a factor of peer pressure within the various Sandinista civil organizations. In the past year the phrase "defense of the revolution" had taken on many shades of meaning, both for the struggling members of the Sandinista Government and for the people of the country. In the first year it carried with it a joyous proclamation of social reforms. In the second year the prepared slogans for economic reconstruction were quietly scrapped for more conventional notions of defense: arms, militia, bullets, tanks. We've been forced into this, the Sandinistas tried to explain; Reagan, the Somocistas in Honduras, the situation in El Salvador, the counter-revolutionaries at home, the CIA—all have obliged us.

Meantime, the Government of Guatemala, which in recent months has stepped up its systematic elimination of all opposition, has announced a literacy campaign. Like the Nicaraguans, the Guatemalans are primarily advertising on matchbook covers. The Nicaraguans would have things like "S is for Sandino"; the Guatemalans have a jolly dancing pencil who is saying: "Alphabetize your neighbor."

May 1981: His name was Edmundo Eugenio Olivas

Cordoba. He was a slight, dark youth of about 18, and had never lived outside Nicaragua for more than a few days until last September. I met him in a jail for political prisoners in El Salvador in late May. He was in the best of company: Among his cellmates were Hector Bernabé Recinos, the head of the largest Salvadoran labor union; four journalists and three university professors; Tonio Morales, the son of Salvadoran junta member Jose Antonio Morales Ehrlich. All were being held on flimsy or nonexistent charges. But perhaps Edmundo's story was the strangest of all.

"I was captured the 22nd of September in a place called El Paraiso ("Paradise"), Honduras, about ten kilometers from the Nicaraguan border, where I was visiting some family. The Honduran officer who captured me was Lt. Moya; he arrested me for no reason at all. He just started questioning me abusively and took me in for being a Nicaraguan. He started torturing me. He would spin the chamber to a pistol held against my head. He said he was going to kill me because he hated Sandinistas and he hadn't killed any recently. He said they were going to take me to the [Nicaraguan exile] National Guard camp in Alauca and give me to them.

"They kept me in the Department of Intelligence in Tegucigalpa for ten days without food, and then they made some kind of a deal with the Salvadorans. They sent me to El Salvador on October 2 because they wanted to prove the presence of Nicaraguans in El Salvador. I stayed in the National Police headquarters where I was tortured, interrogated and beaten all night. They made me sign a letter that said that there are many Sandinista guerrillas who were sent by [Nicaraguan Commanders] Borge, Wheelock, Pastora and the highest leadership.

They said they were going to kill me and publish that I died of combat wounds. I gave out after the torture, and they took me in for medical treatment to revive me. The doctor asked where I was from and I said I was Nica, and he said I had no right to medicine.

"But the International Red Cross happened to arrive at the clinic. They registered me as a prisoner, and that saved my life. Then they [the military] didn't know what to do with me so they brought me here to Santa Tecla. It's very sad here, every day mothers come looking for their sons who have disappeared. I didn't fight in the insurrection in Nicaragua, but I support the Sandinistas."

June 1981: The newly-arrived journalists seated themselves around the hotel pool gleefully. Only a few hours in the country and already they had found themselves a genuine dissident, someone to give body and color to the stories of creeping Sandinista totalitarianism they were intending to write, and she even spoke English.

Oh, the young woman said, *nobody* in Nicaragua supported the Sandinistas anymore. Here it was nearly two years after the revolution, and food prices were still sky high. She had to wait six weeks and pay half of her monthly salary to get a telephone installed in her home.

Yes, yes, the journalists said, but what about the really terrible things—human rights violations and free speech limitations and all that.

Her eyebrows arched with indignation. The worst of it was that they were embargoing all sorts of foreign imports in order to use their foreign credits on farm machinery. How are we going to maintain our standards as a luxury hotel, she asked furiously, if we have to stock the rooms with domestic toilet paper? □

The Dark Side of Abscam

Daniel H. Pollitt

GO DOWN ALMOST ANY STREET in America and the people will applaud Mark Twain's witticism that "There goes a crooked Congressman, but I repeat myself." Apart from too-easy cynicism, there is envy; most of us feel a secret glee when our "betters" get their comeuppance. Finally, we have good reason to resent public officials who sell their votes, or merely rent them on a one-shot basis.

DANIEL H. POLLITT, Kenan Professor of Law at the University of North Carolina, served from the mid-60's until January 1981 as special counsel to the House Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations under the chairmanship of Frank Thompson, Jr. With then Congressman Thompson, he coauthored an article, "Harnessing the Tiger," dealing with the movement for a constitutional convention (C&C, April 16, 1979). This summer he is visiting professor at the Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, D.C.

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So it was that, when Abscam first went public on February 4, 1980, with banner headlines alleging corruption in high places, approval was almost universal. There was titillation when video tapes showed members of Congress taking cash from FBI agents dressed in flowing robes and turbans. There was shock when a Congressman from Philadelphia took a briefcase crammed with cash and lectured the disguised agents that in Washington, D.C., "Money talks and bullshit walks." There was even sadness when a handsome young South Carolina House member with alcoholic problems told the concealed cameras that he had "larceny in his blood," and could no longer resist the financial blandishments passed his way.

Then Abscam moved from the media to the courts. As more details came forth under oath—from the FBI as well as the defendants—some second thoughts came to mind. One wondered if Abscam might not be a defeat

rather than a victory for our tradition of law, order, due process and fair play. Zealotry in the pursuit of corruption, it seemed, might itself be a form of corruption. With historical perspective and closer knowledge of Abscam, that judgment gains strength.

The Plot of the Plot

The *modus operandi* disclosed at trial was a simple one. The FBI assigned two agents to play the part of financial advisers to a wealthy Arab sheik. One, Anthony Ameroso, was a career agent generally assigned to undercover operations. The other, Melvin Weinberg, was a self-styled "sting" artist rescued by the Government for the Abscam operation from a Federal prison sentence on charges of multiple fraud. These two were the so-called Abdul Enterprise, and they played their roles to the hilt. The Government made yachts, jet planes, hotel suites and a town house in Georgetown available as props; almost, it seems, for the asking. The Chase National Bank lent authenticity to the project with its agreement to tell anyone who asked that Abdul Enterprise had large sums of petro-dollars on deposit.

Thus armed, the agents set out on a search-and-destroy mission against any public officials, including members of Congress, who might stray their way. Their point men for these missions were two greedy and gullible recruits: a Philadelphia lawyer named Howard Criden and Mayor Angelo Erichetti of Camden, New Jersey. These two were told, and believed until the very end, that indeed there was a "sheik," that the sheik was seeking investment opportunities with unlimited funds, that the sheik was lavish with cash gratuities and that, as is traditional in Arab countries, the sheik liked to do business with high public officials.

It was the job of Criden and Erichetti to make contact with the high public officials. They were "headhunters" in effect; Criden was paid a bounty of \$1,000 for every Congressman he steered to a meeting with the disguised FBI agents. The lure was a promise that the sheik, with unlimited oil funds sought investments in the Congressman's home district. John Murphy of Staten Island was told that the sheik was interested in acquiring a shipping line, with dock facilities on Staten Island. John Murtha, from the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, was told the sheik wanted to expand into coal, and wanted his advice on acquiring some of the surplus mines in his Congressional district. The bait was changed to fit each Congressman.

If and when the Congressman met to discuss the investment possibilities, he was told, almost in passing, that the sheik might some day have political problems at home, and might then need political asylum. If the Congressman promised his future assistance, he was offered cash in payment for his legal or legislative advice and help. If he took the cash, he was indicted for taking a bribe. All these transactions were on secret video tape. As is well known, the video tapes show some Congressmen, notably Frank Thompson of New Jersey and John Murphy of New York, turning the offer down cold, with vehemence even. The principal evidence against these two came from Criden's law partner, who testified that Criden had told him he had passed money intended for the Congressmen at an off-camera rendezvous with Frank Thompson.

The lure of big investments was central in the initial criminal proceedings against two Philadelphia City

Councilmen, the first Abscam case to be completed at the District Court level. It is representative of the "scam" common to the other cases. FBI sting man Weinberg told gullible attorney Criden that the sheik wanted to invest in a large hotel complex in Philadelphia if he (the sheik) could gain the friendship of "important government officials." Criden, who was promised the legal business if the deal went through, met with City Councilmen George Schwartz and Harry Jannotti and told them of the investment possibility. They took the bait. Schwartz said he would "be interested in anyone who is willing to invest \$150 million" in downtown Philadelphia.

Criden then arranged for successive meetings between the two councilmen and the FBI agents. The trappings were appropriate for the occasion, a hotel suite costing \$350 per day. The scenario for each meeting was well scripted, and the hidden cameras recorded almost identical scenes. Each councilman gave assurances of full support in making the hotel complex a success; rerouting traffic, sewer pipes, whatever was necessary. Each said he was in it for the good of the city. Each said he would support the project without payment of money. Each accepted a large "consulting fee" in return for his assurances of cooperation.

Governmental Overreaching

Federal Judge Fullam tried the case and reviewed the evidence. It was his conclusion that "it was the FBI agents who advanced the idea of cash payments"; they had even insisted, he pointed out, that "unless the payments were accepted their principals would be unwilling to proceed with the project in Philadelphia." Under these circumstances, Judge Fullam ruled that this Abscam operation was not one "to expose municipal corruption." Nor, he ruled, did the evidence prove that the two officials were "corrupt." The evidence proved only that if "exposed to strong enough temptation," city officials could be "rendered corrupt." Judge Fullam reversed the jury verdict of guilty because of the FBI entrapment.

This was not the first time a Federal judge has thrown out a verdict because of governmental overreaching. The legal precedent goes back well over a hundred years. The initial case was styled *The Claimants of a Large Lot of Merchandise and Goods v. The United States*. It arose out of the efforts of the Government during the Civil War to stem the smuggling of war materials across the waters of Chesapeake Bay. The judge was none other than Roger Taney, Chief Justice of the United States, sitting by himself "on circuit." As his biographer Samuel Tyler tells the story, it reads much like the current Abscam record.

In 1862 the War Department received information that a Colonel Stone of Virginia was coming to Baltimore to purchase medicine and drugs for the Confederacy. The only additional information—which turned out to be incorrect—was that Colonel Stone had an uncle in Baltimore, a merchant named Rose. Provost Marshal McPhail assigned a detective named Voltaire Randal to the case, with *carte blanche* authority and resources.

Detective Randal called on Rose at his store and introduced himself as Captain Thomas of the schooner *Caroline*. He said he knew about Colonel Stone, and was willing to provide him safe passage home through the blockade. Rose was alarmed, truthfully denied any knowledge of a Colonel Stone and told Randal to leave.

Randal left, but subsequently began to visit Rose's

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home while Rose was at work. As the report of the case puts it, he "insinuated himself into Rose's house. He made presents to the children who became very fond of him and otherwise sought to work himself into the family confidence."

As time wore on, Rose became less antagonistic and suggested that Randal might have Colonel Stone confused with a young man named Stern, also from Virginia, who formerly had worked for Rose. Stern was then on a prolonged business trip in Philadelphia. Detective Randal began a correspondence with Stern, emphasizing that in Baltimore, for a song he could purchase harmless merchandise such as hats, ribbons, silks and the like. He could then run the blockade, and sell the merchandise dear in Richmond. When Stern returned to Baltimore he discussed this prospect with some young friends, and they decided to meet with Randal, alias Captain Thomas, about it. Randal assured them he had the necessary wagoner, a stout vessel and an assured safe passage. From them he needed only the goods, cash payment and help in loading the vessel. They fell into his trap.

The following night they loaded the schooner *Caroline*, but as they were about to cast off Provost Marshal McPhail arrived in a tug with armed men to cut off their escape. The goods were seized as contraband and taken with the schooner to Fort McHenry. The young men were lodged in the Baltimore jail.

They appealed the forfeiture of the goods. The Chief Justice heard the facts as outlined above, and was incensed at the Government's conduct. He "commented with severity on the visits of [detective] Randal to Rose's house and the deceptions practiced" on the children. He noted that the young men had been "seduced and betrayed into the purchase of goods by the Provost Marshal's officers"; consequently he could see "no possible benefit to accrue to the Government . . . that would in anyway compare with the great evil that would arise from a court of justice countenancing such conduct." To uphold the Government, he concluded, "would encourage officers to betray the weak and imprudent into all sorts of violations of law" and, in addition "would be demoralizing in the extreme to the officers themselves."

The Chief Justice signed a decree whose sweep and severity matched his indignation. He ordered that the goods be restored to the claimants, and, since "there was no probable cause of the seizure," that Marshal McPhail be held responsible "for the damages and costs sustained by the claimants."

"To Avoid Glaringly Unjust Results"

A half century or so later, in 1932, Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes reached a similar result in a case styled *Sorrells v. United States*. It arose during prohibition out of efforts by the Government to stem the sale of "moonshine" liquor. It was the first time the full Supreme Court spoke on the precise question of Government deception and entrapment into crime.

In 1930, a Federal revenues agent named Martin went to the mountain counties of North Carolina, posing as a tourist. He was a veteran of World War I and had served overseas in the Thirtieth Division. He struck up several casual friendships based on his military service. One Sunday afternoon, with three new friends, he paid a social call on Sorrells, also a veteran of the Thirtieth Division.

Early on in the afternoon Martin asked Sorrells if he

could get him some liquor. Sorrells replied that "he did not fool with whiskey." There was a subsequent second request, with the same negative result. As the afternoon wore on, and the further exchange of "war stories," Martin asked a third time if Sorrells could not get him some liquor to take home to Charlotte when his vacation ended. This time Sorrells excused himself, was gone for 20 minutes, and came back with a half-gallon of whiskey which he sold to the Federal agent for \$5. On this evidence Sorrells was convicted for violation of the Prohibition Act, despite testimony that he had never before possessed or sold intoxicating beverages. The Supreme Court reversed the conviction.

Chief Justice Hughes wrote that although "artifice and stratagem" may be employed "to catch those engaged in criminal enterprise," "decoys are not permissible to ensnare the innocent." If "the criminal design originates in the mind of Government officers," he wrote, and if the defendant is "lured into the commission of a criminal act" by persuasion, "deceitful representation, or inducement," it then becomes the obligation of the courts to stop the prosecution.

It is traditional for the courts to construe Federal laws "so as to avoid glaringly unjust results." In keeping with this tradition the Supreme Court ruled that the Government's instigation of the illegal sale of moonshine liquor took the case "out of the purview" of the prohibition statute. The Supreme Court simply refused to suppose that Congress "intended that the letter of its enactment should be used to support such a gross perversion of its purpose."

Three of the Justices concurred with the Chief Justice in result, but not in his reasoning. Justice Owen Roberts wrote that "the courts must be closed to the trial of a crime instigated by the Government's own agents" regardless of the defendants' propensity for crime, regardless of what Congress might or might not have intended when it enacted the criminal law in question. "The entrapment of the unwary into crime," he wrote, "entails a sacrifice of decency"; and he emphasized that it is the province of the court, and the court alone, "to preserve the purity of its own temple, to protect itself and the government from such prostitution of the criminal law."

Again there was precedent, going both ways. The original "wire tap" case of *Olmstead v. United States* involved large scale smuggling of illegal whiskey from Vancouver along the Puget Sound into Seattle. Federal agents tapped the telephone wires of a number of suspects, including Olmstead. This was illegal under the criminal laws of Washington. On the basis of the intercepted information, the Federal agents made mass raids, captured large quantities of bootleg whiskey and made numerous arrests. The Supreme Court sustained the subsequent convictions, despite the Fourth Amendment's prohibition against illegal searches and seizures. The Fourth Amendment did not apply to wire-taps, wrote Chief Justice Taft. It protects the right of people to be secure only in their "persons, houses, papers and effects," and a telephone line falls within none of these four categories.

In his dissent, Justice Holmes eschewed this hypertechnical approach to constitutional doctrine. To him, wiretapping was "dirty business," and he voted to reverse the convictions because "for my part I think it a less evil that some criminal should escape than that the government should play an ignoble part."

Enter Sir Thomas More

The revulsion against the "ignoble part" played by Federal agents who entice others into crime reflects a heritage going back to the Garden of Eden, and the harsh punishment imposed on the serpent when he lured Eve into seducing Adam into eating of the forbidden fruit.

But there is more involved here than Sunday School sentiment. In *A Man For All Seasons*, Sir Thomas More well expressed the pragmatism of such sentiment. The play concerned the conflict between King Henry VIII and Sir Thomas More, a devout Catholic, a leading lawyer and a most respected citizen. As a young man, Henry had married Catherine of Spain for reasons of state. She was the widow of his older brother Arthur, and the Pope in Rome had given dispensation from the Christian law forbidding a man to marry his brother's widow. As the play opened, Henry wanted to divorce Catherine and marry Anne Boleyn. Henry thought it important that Sir Thomas More give his blessing with a legal pronouncement that the earlier marriage to Catherine, and the Pope's dispensation, were both invalid. This Sir Thomas More refused to do. King Henry then sent a secret agent to seek employment in Sir Thomas' household and to report back any discrediting information. Sir Thomas More recognized the suppliant as a possible spy, and denied him employment. Whereupon the following scene unfolds.

More's daughter Alice cries: "He's a spy. Arrest him. Father, that man's bad."

More replied: "There's no law against that."

More's son-in-law Roper interjects: "There is. God's law."

More replied: "Then God can arrest him."

More adds at this point in soliloquy that he is not God and would never attempt to dispense God's law. The play then continues.

More: But in the thickets of [human] law, oh there I'm a forester. I doubt if there's a man alive who could follow me there.

Alice (exasperated, pointing after the spy): While you talk, he's gone.

More: And go he should if he was the Devil himself, until he broke the law.

Roper: So now you'd give the Devil benefit of law.

More: Yes, what would you do? Cut a great road through the law to get after the Devil?

Roper: I'd cut down every law in England to do that.

More (roused and excited): Oh? And when the last law was down, and the Devil turned around on you—where would you hide, Roper, the laws all being flat? This country's planted thick with laws—man's laws, not God's—and if you cut them down d'you really think you could stand upright in the winds that would blow then? (*Quietly*). Yes, I'd give the Devil benefit of law, for my own safety's sake.

Sir Thomas had no fondness for the Devil, but he knew that liberty and justice are indivisible, that if taken from one, the bells toll for all of us.

It's attractive and exciting to go after the Devil (and those who might be devils), and there are many like Roper willing "to cut down every law" to get at him. But Justice Brandeis wrote the warning that history admonishes us to heed unless we want to repeat the mistakes of the past. In the *Olmstead* case he voted with Holmes to set aside the conviction because of the illegal government wire tap. To him it was immaterial that the criminal intrusion was "in aid of law enforcement." Indeed, to him this made it worse. He wrote, prophetically it seems, that "experience should teach us to be most on our guard when the government's purposes are beneficent." The greatest dangers to liberty, he added, come not from evil-minded men; rather they "lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding."

This insidious encroachment on our liberty by men of zeal and little understanding, this "cutting down of the law" to "get the Devil" is the other, the far side, the dark side, of Abscam. It may undo us all.

Documentation

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veto over our defenses and remove their incentive to negotiate fair arrangements. Should we expect Moscow to respect parity if we demonstrate that we are not prepared to sacrifice to sustain it? Can we expect the Soviets to agree to limitations if they realize that, in the absence of agreement, we shall not match their efforts? In the crucial relationship between arms and arms control, we must not put the cart before the horse. There is little prospect of agreements with the Soviet Union that will help solve such a basic security problem as the vulnerability of our land-based

missiles until we demonstrate that we have the will and the capacity to solve them without arms control, should that be necessary.

Seeking World Peace

Our second principle is that we will seek arms control agreements that truly enhance security. We will work for agreements that make world peace more secure by reinforcing deterrence. On occasion it has been urged that we accept defective agreements in order "to keep the arms control process alive." But we are seeking much more than agreements for their own sake. We will design our proposals not simply in the interest of a speedy negotia-

tion but so that they will result in agreements which genuinely enhance the security of both sides.

That is the greatest measure of the worth of arms control, not the money saved nor the arms eliminated. Indeed, valuable agreements can be envisioned that do not save money and that do not eliminate arms. The vital task is to limit and to reduce arms in a way that renders the use of the remaining arms less likely.

Just as arms control could not aim simply at reducing numbers, so it should not try simply to restrict the advance of technology. Some technological advances make everyone safer. Reconnaissance satellites, for instance, discourage surprise

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attacks by increasing warning and make verification of agreements possible. Submarines and other means of giving mobility to strategic systems enhance their survivability, reduce the advantage of preemptive strikes, and thus help to preserve the peace. Our proposals will take account of both the positive and the negative effects of advancing technology.

Whether a particular weapons system, and therefore a particular agreement, undermines or supports deterrence may change with the development of other weapons systems. At one time, fixed intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) were a highly stable form of strategic weapons deployments, but technological change has altered that. We need to design arms control treaties so that they can adapt flexibly to long-term changes. A treaty that, for example, had the effect of locking us into fixed ICBM deployments would actually detract from the objectives of arms control.

Our third principle is that we will seek arms control bearing in mind the whole context of Soviet conduct worldwide. Escalation of a crisis produced by Soviet aggression could lead to a nuclear war; particularly if we allowed an imbalance of forces to provide an incentive for a Soviet first strike. American foreign policy and defense policy, of which arms control is one element, must deter aggression, contain crisis, reduce sources of conflict, and achieve a more stable military balance—all for the purpose of securing the peace. These tasks cannot be undertaken successfully in isolation one from the other.

Soviet international conduct directly affects the prospects for success in arms control. Recognition of this reality is essential for a healthy arms control process in the long run. Such "linkage" is not the creation of US policy: It is a fact of life. A policy of pretending that there is no linkage promotes reverse linkage. It ends up by saying that in order to preserve arms control, we have to tolerate Soviet aggression. This Administration will never accept such an appalling conclusion.

A Balance of Capability

Our fourth principle is that we will seek balanced arms control agreements. Balanced agreements are necessary for a relationship based on reciprocity and essential to maintaining the security of both sides. The Soviet Union must be more willing in

the future to accept genuine parity for arms control to move ahead. Each agreement must be balanced in itself and contribute to an overall balance.

Quantitative parity is important, but balance is more than a matter of numbers. One cannot always count different weapons systems as if they were equivalent. What matters is the capacity of either side to make decisive gains through military operations or threat of military operations. Agreements that do not effectively reduce the incentives to use force, especially in crisis situations, do nothing at all to enhance security.

Our fifth principle is that we will seek arms controls that include effective means of verification and mechanisms for securing compliance. Unverifiable agreements only increase uncertainty, tensions and risks. The critical obstacle in virtually every area of arms control in the 1970's was Soviet unwillingness to accept the verification measures needed for more ambitious limitations. As much as any other single factor, whether the Soviets are forthcoming on this question will determine the degree of progress in arms control in the 1980's.

Failure of the entire arms control process in the long run can be avoided only if compliance issues are clearly resolved. For example, there have been extremely disturbing reports of the use of chemical weapons by the Soviets or their proxies in Afghanistan and in Southeast Asia. With full Western support the United Nations is now investigating the issue of chemical weapons. Similarly, in the spring of 1979, there was an extraordinary outbreak of anthrax in the Soviet city of Sverdlovsk. Despite continued probing, we still await a serious Soviet explanation as to whether it was linked to activities prohibited under the biological weapons convention.

Our sixth principle is that our strategy must consider the totality of the various weapons systems, not only those that are being specifically negotiated. Each US weapons systems must be understood not merely in connection with a corresponding Soviet system, but in relation to our whole strategy for deterring the Soviets from exploiting military force in general. In developing our theater nuclear arms control proposals, for example, we should consider the relationship of theater nuclear forces to NATO's overall strategy for deterring war in Europe. We cannot overlook the fact that our European

strategy has always compensated for shortfalls in conventional capability through a greater reliance on theater and strategic nuclear forces. If we are to rely less on the nuclear elements in the future, the conventional elements will have to be strengthened.

What then are the prospects for arms control in the 1980's? We could achieve quick agreements and an appearance of progress if we pursued negotiation for its own sake or for the political symbolism of continuing the process. But we are committed to serious arms control that truly strengthens international security. That is why our approach must be prudent, paced and measured.

With a clear sense of direction and a dedication to the serious objectives of arms control, this Administration will strive to make arms control succeed. We will put our principles into action. We will conduct negotiations based on close consultation with our allies, guided by the understanding that our objective is enhanced security for all of our allies, not just for the United States. We will work with the Congress to insure that our arms control proposals reflect the desires of our people, and that, once agreements are negotiated, they will be ratified and their implementation fully supported. We will comply with agreements we make, and we will demand that others do likewise.

New Defense Prospects

By the end of the year, the United States will be embarked upon a new arms control endeavor of fundamental importance, one designed to reduce the Soviet nuclear threat to our European allies. The impetus for these negotiations dates back to the mid-1970's when the Soviets began producing and deploying a whole new generation of nuclear systems designed not to threaten the United States—but to threaten our European allies. These new weapons, and in particular the nearly 3,000-mile range SS-20 missile, were not just modernized replacements for older systems. Because of their much greater range, their mobility and above all their multiplication of warheads on each missile, these new systems presented the alliance with a threat of a new order of magnitude.

The pace of the Soviet buildup is increasing. Since the beginning of last year, the Soviets have more than doubled their

SS-20 force. Already 750 warheads have been deployed on SS-20 launchers. The Soviet Union has continued to deploy the long-range Backfire bomber and a whole array of new medium- and short-range nuclear missiles and nuclear-capable aircraft. This comprehensive Soviet arms buildup is in no sense a reaction to NATO's defense program. Indeed, NATO did very little as this alarming buildup progressed.

In December 1979 the alliance finally responded in two ways. First, it agreed to deploy 464 new US ground-launched cruise missiles in Europe and to replace 108 medium-range Pershing ballistic missiles already located there with modernized versions of greater range. Second, the alliance agreed that the United States should pursue negotiated limits on US and Soviet systems in this category.

This two-track decision represents explicit recognition that arms control cannot succeed unless it is matched by a clear determination to take the defense measures necessary to restore a secure balance. On taking office, as one of its first foreign policy initiatives, this Administration announced its commitment to both tracks of the alliance decision—deployments and arms control. Last May, in Rome, we secured unanimous alliance endorsement of our decision to move ahead on both tracks and of our plan for doing so.

Since then I have begun discussions in Washington with the Soviet Ambassador on this issue. When I meet with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko at the United Nations this September, I will seek agreement to start the US-Soviet negotiations on these weapons systems by the end of this year. We would like to see the US and Soviet negotiators meet to begin formal talks between mid-November and mid-December of this year. We intend to appoint a senior US official with the rank of Ambassador as our representative at these talks. . . .

Limiting the Nuclear Threat

We approach these negotiations with a clear sense of purpose. We want equal, verifiable limits on the lowest possible level on US and Soviet theater nuclear forces. Such limits would reduce the threat to our allies and bring to Europe the security undermined today by the Soviet buildup. We regard the threat to our allies as a threat to ourselves, and we will, therefore, spare no effort to succeed.

We are proceeding with these negotiations to limit the theater threat within the framework of SALT—the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks designed to limit the nuclear threat to the United States and to the Soviet Union. In this area, too, we have initiated intense preparations. These preparations must take into account the decisions we will take shortly on modernizing our intercontinental ballistic missiles and our strategic bombers.

In the course of 10 years of SALT negotiations, conceptual questions have arisen which must be addressed. For instance, how have improvements in monitoring capabilities, on the one hand, and new possibilities for deception and concealment, on the other, affected our ability to verify agreements and to improve verification? Which systems are to be included in a SALT negotiation, and which should be discussed in other forums? How can we compare and limit the diverse US and Soviet military arsenals in the light of new systems and new technologies emerging on both sides?

In each of these areas there are serious and pressing questions which must be answered to insure the progress of SALT in the 1980's and beyond. Only in this way can SALT become again a dynamic process that will promote greater security in the US-Soviet relationship. We are determined to solve these problems and to do everything necessary to arrive at balanced reductions in strategic arsenals on both sides. We should be prepared to pursue innovative arms control ideas. For example, negotiated confidence-building measures in Europe could provide a valuable means to reduce uncertainty about the character and purpose of the other side's military activities. While measures of this sort will not lessen the imperative of maintaining a military balance in Europe, they can reduce the dangers of miscalculation and surprise.

We are eager to pursue such steps in the framework of a European disarmament conference based on an important French proposal now being considered at the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We call upon the Soviets to accept this proposal, which could cover Soviet territory to the Urals. As we proceed in Madrid, we will do so on the basis of a firm alliance solidarity, which is the key to bringing the Soviets to accept serious and effective arms control measures.

Continuing a Long Tradition

Our efforts to control existing nuclear arsenals will be accompanied by new attempts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. The Reagan Administration is developing more vigorous policies for inhibiting nuclear proliferation. We expect the help of others in this undertaking, and we intend to be a more forthcoming partner to those who share responsibility for nonproliferation practices. Proliferation complicates the task of arms control: It increases the risk of preemptive and accidental war, it detracts from the maintenance of a stable balance of conventional forces, and it brings weapons of unparalleled destructiveness to volatile and developing regions. No short-term gain in export revenue or regional prestige can be worth such risks.

It may be argued that the "genie is out of the bottle," that technology is already out of control. But technology can also be tapped for the answers. Our policies can diminish the insecurities that motivate proliferation. Responsible export practices can reduce dangers. And international norms can increase the cost of nuclear violations. With effort we can help to assure that nuclear plowshares are not transformed into nuclear swords.

In sum, the United States has a broad agenda of specific arms control efforts and negotiations already underway or soon to be launched. The charge that we are not interested in arms control or that we have cut off communications with the Soviets on these issues is simply not true.

The approach I have discussed today stands in a long and distinguished American tradition. We are confident that it is a serious and realistic approach to the enduring problems of arms control. The United States wants a more secure and a more peaceful world. And we know that balanced, verifiable arms control can contribute to that objective.

We are also confident that the Soviet leaders will realize the seriousness of our intent. They should soon tire of the proposals that seek to freeze NATO's modernization of theater nuclear weapons before it has even begun, while reserving for themselves the advantages of hundreds of SS-20's already deployed. They should see that the propaganda campaign intended to intimidate our allies and frustrate NATO's modernization program cannot and must not succeed. Arms

control requires confidence, but it also requires patience.

Americans dream of a peaceful world, and we are willing to work long and hard to create it. This Administration is confident that its stance of patient optimism on arms control expresses the deepest hopes and the clearest thoughts of the American people.

It is one of the paradoxes of our time

that the prospects for arms control depend upon the achievement of a balance of arms. We seek to negotiate a balance at less dangerous levels but meanwhile we must maintain our strength. Let us take to heart John F. Kennedy's reminder that negotiations "are not a substitute for strength—they are an instrument for the translation of strength into survival and peace." □

Faith and Disarmament

Raymond Hunthausen

I AM GRATEFUL for having been invited to speak to you on disarmament because it forces me to a kind of personal disarmament. This is a subject I have thought about and prayed over for many years. I can recall vividly hearing the news of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima in 1945. I was deeply shocked. I could not then put into words the shock I felt from the news that a city of hundreds of thousands of people had been devastated by a single bomb. Hiroshima challenged my faith as a Christian in a way I am only now beginning to understand. That awful event and its successor at Nagasaki sank into my soul, as they have in fact sunk into the souls of all of us, whether we recognize it or not.

I am sorry to say that I did not speak out against the evil of nuclear weapons until many years later. I was especially challenged on the issue by an article I read in 1976 by Jesuit Father Richard McSorley, titled "It's a Sin to Build a Nuclear Weapon." He wrote:

The taproot of violence in our society today is our intention to use nuclear weapons. Once we have agreed to that, all other evil in minor in comparison. Until we squarely face the question of

our consent to use nuclear weapons, any hope of large-scale improvement of public morality is doomed to failure.

I agree. Our willingness to destroy life everywhere on this earth, for the sake of our security as Americans, is at the root of many other terrible events in our country.

I was also challenged to speak out against nuclear armament by the nearby construction of the Trident submarine base and by the first-strike nuclear doctrine which Trident represents. The nuclear warheads fired from one Trident submarine will be able to destroy as many as 408 separate areas, each with a bomb five times more powerful than the one used at Hiroshima. One Trident submarine has the destructive equivalent of 2,040 Hiroshima bombs. Trident and other new weapons systems such as the MX and cruise missile have such extraordinary accuracy and explosive power that they can only be understood as a build-up to a first-strike capability. First-strike nuclear weapons are immoral and criminal. They benefit only arms corporations and the insane dream of those who wish to "win" a nuclear holocaust.

I was also moved to speak out against Trident because it is being based here. We must take special responsibility for what is in our own back yard. And when crimes are being prepared in our name, we must speak plainly. I say with a deep consciousness of these words that Trident is the Auschwitz of Puget Sound.

Witness for a Nuclear Age

Father McSorley's article and the local basing of Trident are what awakened me to a new sense of the gospel call to peacemaking in the nuclear age. They brought back the shock of Hiroshima. Since that reawakening five years ago, I have tried to respond in both a more prayerful and more vocal way than I did in 1945.

I feel the need to respond by prayer because our present crisis goes far deeper than politics. I have heard many perceptive political analyses of the nuclear situation, but their common element is despair. It is no wonder. The nuclear arms race can sum up in a few final moments the violence of tens of thousands of years, raised to an almost infinite power—a demonic reversal of the Creator's power of giving life. But politics is itself powerless to overcome the demonic in its midst. It needs another dimension.

I am convinced that a way out of this terrible crisis can be discovered by our deepening in faith and prayer so that we learn to rely not on missiles for our security but on the loving care of that One who gives and sustains life. We need to return to the Gospel with open hearts to learn once again what it is to have faith.

We are told there by our Lord: "Blessed are the peacemakers. They shall be called children of God." The Gospel calls us to be peacemakers, to practice a divine way of reconciliation. But the next beatitude in Matthew's sequence implies that peacemaking may also be blessed because the persecution which it provokes is the further way into the kingdom: "Blessed are those who are persecuted in the cause of right. Theirs is the kingdom of Heaven."

To understand today the gospel call to peacemaking, and its consequence, persecution, I want to refer especially to these words of our Lord in the Gospel of Mark:

If anyone wants to be a follower of mine, let that person renounce self and take up the cross and follow me. For anyone who wants to save one's own life will lose it; but anyone who loses one's own life for my sake, and for the sake of the Gospel, will save it. (Mark 8:34-35)

Scripture scholars tell us that these words lie at the very heart of Mark's Gospel, in his watershed passage on the meaning of faith in Christ. The point of Jesus' teaching here is inescapable: As his

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followers, we cannot avoid the cross given to each one of us. I am sorry to have to remind myself and each one of you that by "the cross" Jesus was referring to the means by which the Roman Empire executed those whom it considered revolutionaries.

Jesus' first call in the Gospel is to love of God and one's neighbor. But when he gives flesh to that commandment by the more specific call to the cross, I am afraid that like most of you I prefer to think in abstract terms, not in the specific context in which our Lord lived and died. Jesus' call to the cross was a call to love God and one's neighbor in so direct a way that the authorities in power could only regard it as subversive and revolutionary. "Taking up the cross," "losing one's life," meant being willing to die at the hands of political authorities for the truth of the Gospel, for that love of God in which we are all one.

The Bottom Line of Faith

As followers of Christ, we need to take up our cross in the nuclear age. I believe that one obvious meaning of the cross is unilateral disarmament. Jesus' acceptance of the cross rather than the sword raised in his defense is the Gospel's statement of unilateral disarmament. We are called to follow. Our security as people of faith lies not in demonic weapons which threaten all life on earth. Our security is in a loving, caring God. We must dismantle our

weapons of terror and place our reliance on God.

I am told by some that unilateral disarmament in the face of atheistic Communism is insane. I find myself observing that nuclear armament by anyone is itself atheistic, and anything but sane. I am also told that the choice of unilateral disarmament is a political impossibility in this country. If so, perhaps the reason is that we have forgotten what it would be like to act out of faith. But I speak here of that choice not as a political platform—it might not win elections—but as a moral imperative for followers of Christ. A choice has been put before us: Anyone who wants to save one's own life by nuclear arms will lose it; but anyone who loses one's life by giving up those arms for Jesus' sake, and for the sake of the Gospel, will save it.

To ask one's country to relinquish its security in arms is to encourage risk—a more reasonable risk than constant nuclear escalation, but a risk nevertheless. I am struck by how much more terrified we Americans often are by talk of disarmament than by the march to nuclear war. We whose nuclear arms terrify millions around the globe are terrified by the thought of being without them. The thought of our nation without such power feels naked. Propaganda and a particular way of life have clothed us in death. To relinquish our hold on global destruction feels like risking everything, and it is risking everything—but in a direction opposite to the way in which we now risk everything.

Nuclear arms protect privilege and exploitation. Giving them up would mean our having to give up economic power over other peoples. Peace and justice go together. On the path we now follow, our economic policies toward other countries require nuclear weapons. Giving up the weapons would mean giving up more than our means of global terror. It would mean giving up the reason for such terror—our privileged place in the world.

How can such a process, of taking up the cross of nonviolence, happen in a country where our government seems paralyzed by arms corporations? In a country where many of the citizens, perhaps most of the citizens, are numbed into passivity by the very magnitude and complexity of the issue, while being horrified by the prospect of nuclear holocaust? Clearly some action is demanded

—some form of nonviolent resistance. Some people may choose to write to their elected representatives at the national and state level, others may choose to take part in marches, demonstrations or similar forms of protest. Obviously there are many ways that action can be taken.

A Proposal for Peace

I would like to share a vision of still another action that could be taken: simply this—a sizeable number of people in the state of Washington, 5,000, 10,000, one half million people refusing to pay 50 percent of their taxes in nonviolent resistance to nuclear murder and suicide. I think that would be a definite step toward disarmament. Our paralyzed political process needs that catalyst of nonviolent action based on faith. We have to refuse to give incense—in our tax dollars—to our nuclear idol.

On April 15 we can vote for unilateral disarmament with our lives. Form 1040 is the place where the Pentagon enters all of our lives and asks our unthinking cooperation with the idol of nuclear destruction. I think the teaching of Jesus tells us to render to a nuclear-armed Caesar what that Caesar deserves—tax resistance. And to begin to render to God alone that complete trust which we now give, through our tax dollars, to a demonic form of power. Some would call what I am urging "civil disobedience." I prefer to see it as obedience to God.

I must say in all honesty that my vision of a sizeable number of tax resisters is not yet one which I have tried to realize in the most obvious way—by becoming one of the number. I have never refused to pay war taxes. And I recognize that there will never be such a number unless there are first a few to give the example. But I share the vision with you as a part of my own struggle to realize the implications of the Gospel of peace given us by our Lord. It is not the way of the cross which is in question in the nuclear age but our willingness to follow it.

I fully realize that many will disregard my position on unilateral disarmament and tax resistance. I also realize that one can argue endlessly about specific tactics, but no matter how we differ on specific tactics, one thing at least is certain. We must demand over and over again that our political leaders make peace and disarmament, and not war and increased arma-

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ments, their first priority. We must demand that time and effort and money be placed first of all toward efforts to let everyone know that the United States is NOT primarily interested in being the strongest military nation on earth but in being the strongest peace advocate. We must challenge every politician who talks endlessly about building up our arms and never about efforts for peace. We must ask our people to question their government when it concentrates its efforts on shipping arms to countries which need food, when it accords the military an open checkbook while claiming that the assistance to the poor must be slashed in the name of balancing the budget, when it devotes most of its time and energy and money to developing war strategy and not peace strategy.

Faith and Transformation

Creativity is always in short supply. This means that it must be used for the most valuable purposes. Yet it seems evident that most of our creative efforts are not going into peace but into war. We have too many people who begin with the premise that little can be done to arrange for a decrease in arms spending since the Soviet Union is bent on bankrupting itself on armaments no matter what we do. We have too few people who are willing to explore every, possible path to decreasing armaments.

In our Catholic Archdiocese of Seattle, I have been recommended to our people that we all turn more intently to the Lord this year in response to the escalation of nuclear arms, and that we do so especially by fasting and prayer on Monday of each week. That is the way, I believe, to depend on a power far greater than the hydrogen bomb. I believe that only by turning our lives around in the most fundamental ways, submitting ourselves to the infinite love of God, will we be given the vision and strength to take up the cross of non-violence.

The nuclear arms race can be stopped. Nuclear weapons can be abolished. That I believe with all my heart and faith, my sisters and brothers. The key to that nuclear-free world is the cross at the center of the Gospel, and our response to it. The terrible responsibility which you and I have in this nuclear age is that we profess a faith whose God has transformed death into life in the person of

Jesus Christ. We must make that faith real. Life itself depends on it. Our faith sees the transformation of death, through the cross of suffering love, as an ongoing process.

That process is our way into hope of a new world. Jesus made it clear that the cross and empty tomb didn't end with him. Thank God they didn't. We are living in a time when new miracles are needed,

when a history threatened by overwhelming death needs resurrection by almighty God. God alone is our salvation, through the acceptance in each of our lives of a nonviolent cross of suffering love. Let us call on the Holy Spirit to move us all into that nonviolent action which will take us to our own cross, and to the new earth beyond. □

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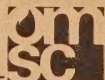
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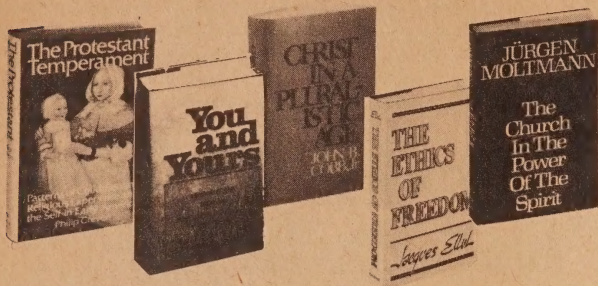
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Development in Sri Lanka: The Winners & the Losers

**Leon
Howell**

CONTINUING THE DISCUSSION:

- (I) *US Policy in El Salvador*
- (II) *Violence in High Places*

What Do We Really Think of Judaism?

DEPENDING ON WHAT you want to prove, you could prove a lot of things from a statistical table published in *National Catholic Reporter* for April 24 that compares the numbers of women employed in major Vatican offices in 1980 and 1977.

You want to prove progress? In the Sacred Congregation for Religious, the table reflects a four-tenths of one percent gain for women between '77 and '81. Details in Footnote 1.

You want to show still greater progress? In the same brief period, there's been a 2.3 percent gain in the number of women working in the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. See Footnote 2.

You want to show stasis? Stasis we've got. In the following Vatican offices, there has been no change in the number of women employees: the Biblical Commission, the International Theological Commission, the Commission for the Interpretation of Vatican Council II, the Commission for the Revision of Canon Law, the Tribunal of Apostolic Signature, the Tribunal of Penance and the Sacred Congregations for the Bishops, the Sacraments, the Cause of Sainthood. Explicatory matter will be found in Footnote 3.

You want to show regression, you negativist? In 1980 the Council for the Laity had 5.7 percent fewer women than in 1977. Consult Footnote 4.

Footnotes

1. In 1977 there were 30 women employed out of a total of 126 (23.8 percent) in the Sacred Congregation for Religious. In 1980, 31 out of 128 (24.2 percent). To understand this you should know that there are roughly twice as many women religious as there are men religious in the Roman Catholic world. This explains why there have to be four times as many men running things.

2. In 1977, 14 women out of a total of 274 (5.1 percent). In 1980, 20 women out of 270 persons (7.4 percent). A real zoomer.

3. In 1977 none of these offices had any women employees. In 1980, ditto. This is as much stasis as you can find anywhere.

4. In 1977 the Council for the Laity was still in formation; of 15 members, 6 were women (40 percent). In 1980 there were 23 women among 67 members (34.3 percent). The reason for this decline is that women have more interesting things to do, such as the dishes.

Footnote on the footnotes: Careful research fails to discover any woman working at the Vatican bearing the title of pope, cardinal, bishop, monsignor or priest. This is an oversight; it will be corrected over the course of the

front of the book

next 2,000 years, or about as rapidly as the membership of the United States Senate is coming to reflect the same ratio of women to men as does the US citizenry.

An erstwhile friend and former contributor to this journal visited the city of its provenance and then wrote us an incautious letter. We have brought the letter to the attention of the Institute of High Dudgeon, a recent creation of the sagely irate columnist Russell Baker.

For one thing, Erstwhile Friend refers to the "teeming" and "grubby" subways. The New York subway ought not be spoken of in such demeaning terms. Why not "intimate" and "unpretentious"? Why not acknowledge, as Institute Founder Baker did in *The New York Times* for April 29, that the New York subway is:

"...[T]he greatest mass-transportation mechanism ever created. More than 700 miles of track. Exactly 107,623 burned-out light bulbs. And those in the pedestrian walkways alone."

Dr. Baker reminds us of unique services provided by the subway. Example:

"The floors of the subway cars are first covered with a thick layer of rectified garbage juice. This is then pounded for eight hours by squads of subway-car decorators using heavy flails. It is then dried under intense heat until permanently laminated to the subway-car floor. Such are the pains the New York subway takes to make you realize that you have chosen the unique way to go."

Then there are the loudspeaker announcements one hears, sort of:

"The New York subway is very proud of these announcements. Though they are nothing but train announcements they are broadcast in a tongue that sounds like Gujarati and walnut shells passing through a meat grinder. It is intensely amusing listening to them while trying to guess

whether the broadcaster is being strangled or swallowed in quicksand."

Our correspondent offended further. She stayed in the apartment of an absent friend, a Famous Woman Writer; it was situated, she said, "on the ruins of the Upper West Side." She spoke of "bombed-out areas"; she was reminded of the "aching poverty" of Calcutta and Bombay.

Well. It happens that the letter was addressed to the undersigned, who lives one scant block from the home of Famous Woman Writer. We even shop at the same supermarket (though FWW orders by phone, thereby avoiding real life and the delicate aroma of cat litter that pervades the premises).

We are informing Former Contributor that if she wishes forgiveness from the Institute she will have to put scales on her eyes when next she comes to Babylon. She will then see, not bombed-out areas, but pastoral scenes. If regarded as a "found object," for example, an empty brick-strewn lot discloses patterns of rare beauty.

Also: The truth about Upper West Side poverty is that it's being shipped out to make way for gentrification. Across the street from the supermarket and its cats there used to be a Chinese laundry, a reweaving shop run by a woman who is a survivor of Auschwitz, a numbers joint and a *bodega* (Hispanic grocery store). The *bodega* was also, rumor says, a collection point for stolen goods. One had all the services one needed. Now the building has been slicked up; it houses three chic antique stores all in a row. Responding to moans, the real estate industry declares: "Let them eat Chippendale."

Erstwhile Friend: Rents in this part of Bombay are reaching for Uranus. Would you believe \$1,000 a month for a one-bedroom floor-through in an 18' by 50' building? If Uncle Ronald manages to get rent control abolished, the only poor people on the Upper West Side will be moving underneath it on the subways. Antigentrification forces of the world, unite! You have everything to lose, including the chains on your front doors.

ROBERT G. HOYT

What Do We Really Think of Judaism?

Philip Culbertson

THE EPISCOPAL DIOCESE of Ohio may be seen as typical of Episcopal dioceses across the United States. Its 114 parishes run the gamut from high church to low, from wealthy urban parishes to marginal rural missions. The diocese covers the northern half of Ohio, thus including the steelmills of Youngstown, the automotive assembly lines of Cleveland, the oil refineries of Toledo, and the rubber industry of Akron. Unemployment is high in the diocese, and many parishes have begun to suffer financial distress.

Like all Episcopal dioceses, ours functions through administrative departments and commissions. I sit on the Diocesan Ecumenical Commission, made up of about a dozen clergy and laypersons drawn from across the diocese, to assist the diocese in keeping abreast of issues in ecumenical dialogue. Our commission is at least as devoted to Christian-Jewish dialogue as it is to dialogue with other Christian denominations. Over the past

four years it has sponsored resolutions submitted to the annual diocesan convention, two study tours to Israel and a year-long study project for clergy and rabbis on the Second Temple period and modern Christian-Jewish dialogue.

The 1981 annual diocesan convention was scheduled for early February. For several months members of the Ecumenical Commission had been concerned about reports of rising anti-Semitism across the United States, particularly in the urban East. It became our concern to present a resolution at the convention that would alert our clergy and laity to this returning wave of anti-Semitism and call upon them to oppose it, particularly within our church. The results of the process were revealing.

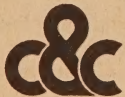
I was asked to compose a draft resolution for circulation among commission members before starting the resolution through regular channels leading to the floor of convention. The first draft read:

ON ANTI-SEMITISM

Whereas, the Christian Church has at times during its history been responsible for the promotion of anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish stereotypes in its theology, its art, its hymnody, and its lack of challenge of cultural stereotypes; and

Whereas, enthusiasm for the renewal of the church's mission and witness has frequently throughout history led to a rise in the persecution of the Jews, based on a narrow and exclusivist interpretation of the Johannine charge, "No man cometh unto the Father, but by me"; and

Whereas, theologians and scholars within the Church continue to grow into a deeper appreciation of the Jewish faith and values of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, a heritage underlined in the words of St. Paul, who wrote: "To them belong the sonship, the
(Continued on page 155)



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Third World Development: A Test Case in Sri Lanka

Leon Howell

WITH YOUR INDULGENCE, this story begins with those standard clichés of the traveling journalist: the conversation heard on an airplane and the local wisdom gained from a taxi driver.

The airplane first: A British businessman with long experience in Asia was flying from tiny, booming, authoritarian Singapore to Sri Lanka (née: Ceylon), an island of 25,000 square miles hanging like a precious stone just south of India.

"Things are much better in Sri Lanka today," the businessman offered. "They have finally got a government who will put the country back to work."

This year Sri Lanka celebrates 50 years of universal suffrage. Since 1948 when it gained independence from the British, it has changed governments six times, all through the ballot box. But until recently—according to *Business Week* (Nov. 17, 1980)—the economic story of Sri Lanka has been "a case history of how attempts to introduce democratic socialism to a developing country lead to economic disaster."

The problem with Sri Lankan Governments before 1977, seen from the perspective of the United States Embassy, was stated succinctly in the Embassy's 1980 "economic trends" report. They had diverted "a large share of available resources to free education and medical care, free and subsidized food, and subsidized energy and transportation service."

The changes came in 1977 when "J.R." came to power. Reacting to an undoubtedly stagnant economy (badly hurt by rising energy import costs), unemployment of about 20 percent and a sense of corruption in public life, voters ousted the party of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike (the world's first woman prime minister when elected to her first term in 1960), and gave the capitalist, rightist party of Junius Richard Jayewardene 140 of the 168 parliamentary seats.

The 1980 Embassy report, using language now familiar to Americans, said that J.R.—as he is known privately—has "taken further steps . . . to free the private sector from the weight of unnecessary government regulation, to reduce general consumer subsidies [for food, medical care and the like], to make additional resources available

for investment and to provide incentives to increase production."

Sri Lanka, in short, is embarked on a dramatic new course, trying to emulate Singapore as a nation that develops through foreign investment. "This transition toward a free-market economy," *Fortune* suggested in December, "has made Sri Lanka a test case for the Third World."

Another Viewpoint

Now to the taxi driver. We were passing the statue of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike which stands near the parliament building in Colombo. Bandaranaike was assassinated in 1959 after gaining power in 1956 by appealing to the Buddhism and Sinhalese language of the majority of Sri Lankans against the English-oriented post-colonial elites. (Ethnically, 71 percent are Sinhalese, 21 percent Tamil, 6 percent Moor, 2 percent other. Religiously, 64 percent are Buddhist, 20 percent Hindu, 9 percent Christian, 6 percent Muslim, 1 percent other.)

In halting English, the driver said: "Gentleman Bandaranaike very good."

How was his widow, Mrs. Bandaranaike, prime minister from 1960-1965 and 1970-1977? "So-so," he replied, illustrating by wiggling his hand from side to side.

And President Jayewardene? "J.R. makes us hungry," he said, as he touched his stomach.

There are, he said, "150 lakhs of people in Sri Lanka: 148 lakhs are poor, 2 lakhs are rich." (*Lakh* is a widely used word meaning 100,000. Sri Lanka has just under 15 million people.)

Whether things are much better in Sri Lanka today is clearly a matter of perspective.

Minister of Labor Capt. C.P.J. Seneviratne made the Government's case in an interview. "We have a job of work to do, and we are doing it. We are keeping our promises, and there is a vast level of change in our country. People are working. When we came into office in 1977, 13 lakhs of people were out of work. Now it is nine. There is a vast level of change in our country."

Certainly foreign businesses believe there is. *Business Week* feels Sri Lanka "could be the next hot spot for electronics assemblies in the Far East." In three years a free trade zone set up near the international airport 18 miles from Colombo has obtained 130 industrial commit-

LEON HOWELL, a Contributing Editor, lived in Sri Lanka in 1962-64 and has revisited that country a number of times, most recently last month.

ments; about 35 are in actual production, employing about 10,000 people. The Embassy report puts it: "As costs have moved up in Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore, Sri Lanka's economic policies and large supply of low-cost [average wage about \$35 a month] relatively well-educated labor make it increasingly attractive for labor-intensive industry to locate here." (See box.)

But there are costs to such development. A long debate could be cited, but suffice it to say that most investment in the free trade zone has been related to textiles and garments and employs young women. The main interest is doubly exploitive, using Sri Lanka's cheap labor and employing investment capital from other Asian countries—Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong—that are already producing as much as import quotas in Western countries allow them to sell. These foreign investors are using Sri Lanka's unfilled quotas and taking most of the profits home.

More ominously, the new Government, in providing stability to attract investors, has moved with its overwhelming parliamentary majority to entrench its power in ways that alarm those who treasure the nation's democratic traditions. The Government got approval for a new Constitution that moved Sri Lanka from a parliamentary democracy into a presidential system; one provision prevents Members of Parliament from "crossing over" and bringing about elections by defeating the governing party in a vote of confidence. Jayewardene, in fact, rules with almost total power, which extends to 1984, a year after the next parliamentary elections. The most effective opposition leader is still Mrs. Bandaranaike, but her "civic" rights were canceled last October after a commission found corruption during her administration. She was removed from her seat in Parliament.

An anti-terrorist bill allows preventive detention without warrant. Strikes by the labor union, which have a long and active tradition in Sri Lanka, can be denied under a law allowing the Government to declare almost anything it wishes "an essential service." A respected Anglican cleric in Colombo grumped: "The President has broken his political and union opposition. What's left?"

This Government, responding to an undoubted problem as well as to pressures by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, has ended the subsidies for food, clothing, kerosene, cooking oil and transportation. That means much-increased outlays for workers and urban dwellers at a time when wages are being tightly controlled.

But the major pressure here, as in many other places, has been inflation, a product of high prices for imported oil and the impact of foreign and domestic spending on "development" programs. Some examples: Laundry soap has gone up 350 percent since 1977; white poplin, a popular clothing material, has gone up 400 percent. During the 1977 election Ranasinghe Premadasa, now Prime Minister, split a coconut on the political stump, to demonstrate that each half had doubled in cost under Mrs. Bandaranaike. Now the price of coconuts, essential to the Sri Lankan diet, has gone up another 600 percent.

In 1980 a group of women published an appeal to the President which stated that the cost of feeding four people in the city at minimal levels was Rupees 1,287 (about \$75) per month; almost no workers, skilled or unskilled, employed by government or by the private sector, make as much as R. 1,000 per month.

All this came to a head about a year ago as various trade unions began to discuss the pressures on workers from inflation and the Government. A number of unions created a Joint Trade Union Action Committee (JTUAC) to orchestrate demands. June 5 was selected as a day of "picketing" during lunch hour around the country. But the Government told its union and supporters to counter the "day of protest." (A wide variety of sources say that it permits, if not encourages, what is called "thuggery," the beating of labor leaders and demonstrators.) The result: a number of badly beaten picketers, reports that at least one Member of Parliament was involved directly, and the death of a local union leader named Somapala.

From Protests to Strikes

Somapala's funeral attracted an angry but controlled 20,000 workers who marched through parts of Colombo. Union militancy increased when 12 workers at the Government railway were interdicted (fired) for participating in the funeral. More than 20,000 railway workers struck as a result. By mid-July, with that strike going badly, the JTUAC called for a general strike, partly to support the railway workers but also to demand a large monthly wage increase and indexing of wages to the cost of living.

The number of people who struck is still unclear; estimates run from 40,000 to more than 100,000. But the Government reacted with all its power, declaring an emergency and mobilizing the armed forces, blacking out news of the strike in the public media it largely controls, placing the largely government-worker jobs into the "essential service" categories and saying that those who struck had "vacated their posts."

The Government stance was that this labor action was a political attempt to take away the power the ruling party had won at the ballot box. The Minister of Labor still insists that there was no strike: "Certain sectors of workers said they were going to vacate their posts, and we could not permit them to disrupt this country."

There is, in fact, some basis for the Government's claim since most Sri Lankan labor unions are closely related to political parties. Some politicians undoubtedly would exploit a strike. But clearly there were legitimate labor union issues at stake.

Last fall Anglican Bishop Lakshman Wickremasinghe,

who has opposed all governments when he judged that they were ignoring the rights of people, wrote a statement, "The Truth About the Strikes." He acknowledged that some may have been involved to "disrupt the administration and create disorder." But he listed three primary reasons for the strike:

(1) The increasing cost of living: "Spiraling inflation has placed unbearable burdens on the urban middle class and working class with fixed income."

(2) The increasing inequality of income distribution: He cited figures but added that "it is what people see for themselves daily that registers. They can see a super class with very high income from among the foreign businessmen, local business tycoons . . . gem dealers and highest paid doctors and lawyers."

(3) Increasing suppression of trade union rights: "The Essential Public Services Act provides the Government with the powers to control and break strikes under the normal law . . . It is one thing to bring discipline into the trade unions; it is another thing to deny them their rights."

When I visited Sri Lanka in April, nine months after the strike, the 74-year-old Jayewardene was still keeping his famed ruthlessness on display. Through the media, the Government gives the impression that most of the workers have been taken back and that those still denied work had been involved in sabotage and the like. A US

Government spokesperson echoed this line. But no one in government would cite specific figures in response to my queries.

In fact, at least 35,000 workers are still jobless as a result of the abortive strike, according to data assembled by the respected Centre for Society and Religion, a research organization situated on the grounds of a Roman Catholic church that includes Buddhists, Hindus and Protestants in its ranks. Those workers who are again on payrolls had to sign statements that they had stayed away from work because of illness, or promising that they would never engage in such actions again. Meantime, among the tens of thousands whose jobs have been destroyed, suffering is immense.

In the words of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the Government's adamancy showed that J.R. and his party "will do everything they can to ensure that this is the last major trade union offensive before the 1983 election and show investors that the unions will be brought to heel." Within the labor movement, it is generally conceded that the strike was premature and a disaster, and there is debate about how it came about.

Clearly, J.R. won this round. Seeing the result from afar, Singapore's tough ruler Lee Kuan Yew must be smiling. He said last year: "If union leadership challenges political leadership, political leaders must triumph, if necessary, by changing the ground rules to

Free Trade Zones: Guests Benefit . . .

They have many names—"free production zones," "investment promotion zones," "export processing zones"—but "free trade zones" (FTZ) is the label most widely used. They began in the 1960's as an offshoot of transnational corporate development, when sophisticated communications allowed the giant firms to roam the world to find cheap labor for unskilled or semi-skilled assembly work.

More than 80 exist today—over half along Asia's Pacific Basin—and 40 more are on the way. The free trade zone, says one expert, is like a country within a country. A bubbling American businessman in Seoul told the *New Internationalist* (March 1980) of their attraction to investors:

"Free trade zones are like Hilton Hotels. When you're inside one, you don't know what country you're in, and the hassles of the country don't touch you. It's the businessman's dream. And the workers are polite and obedient and almost look alike—sometimes you wonder if they're Mexicans, Filipinos, Malays or Arabs."

The characteristics are similar: the "five freedoms" from import duties, import quotas, corporate income, property and excise taxes; fiscal incentives, such as low interest rates, subsidized rents, utilities and training programs; and political advantages, such as bans against trade unions and strikes, limits on political rights (The Greater Colombo Economic Commission which administers Sri Lanka's first FTZ—more are on the way—has the power to alter any laws made by the local municipalities and towns), and exemption from minimum wage requirements (although the zones often pay somewhat more than going rates).

Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan, in unique and hard to duplicate circumstances, used them as part of their economic development engines. But now they are using more sophisticated technology and their wages have increased. So a second wave of FTZs is being created as poorer nations exploit their cheap labor to compete for the privilege. China has four in the works, the In-

dian subcontinent and poorer Southeast Asian nations such as Indonesia and Thailand are all involved. But, as with pyramid selling, the benefits decrease. Hong Kong made 23 of the first 94 commitments to Sri Lanka's FTZ, interested only in using Sri Lanka's garment and textile quotas in Europe and the United States.

President J. R. Jayewardene set the Sri Lanka tone in the parliamentary debate on the FTZ creation in January 1978: "So, we have demarcated a certain area. I want to say quite frankly, let the people of the world including our own capitalists come and make it a 'robber baron' area . . . In this area there can be no strikes. If you are going to make this an area where capitalists invest, certain laws have to be non-operable in that region."

In the January 15, 1980, *Wall Street Journal*, Sri Lanka made its pitch to American business. Some excerpts:

In an effort to strengthen the economy, the Government is offering American manufacturers unprecedented incentives and profit opportu-

thwart the challenge, using legislative and administrative powers, and, when necessary, backed by the mandate of the electorate."

But Singapore is smaller and more easily controlled than Sri Lanka. Bishop Wickremasinghe says the Government will not break the trade union movement in his country. "This is not Singapore. A policy which seeks to isolate the workers from their leaders . . . may have a temporary success. Confrontation will not cease; it will merely be postponed."

Christian Influence

The Christian community, though only ten percent of the population, wields disproportionate influence in the urban areas. It has become increasingly involved in labor issues. The Christian Workers Fellowship has taken a leadership position; it also distributed a large fund for striker relief gathered by the Catholic archdiocese last Christmas. During the strike the Methodist General Conference called on the Government to negotiate with the unions. Late in March, conference president the Rev. Somaisri Perera told a gathering of some 1,000 people (among them high-ranking Buddhist priests and a Catholic bishop) that the Government's continued "posturing" was "immoral."

The Centre for Society and Religion concluded:

. . . Hosts Pay High Costs

nities including total tax exemptions for up to 10 years . . .

Sri Lanka's labor reserve numbers over 600,000 people. They are educated, intelligent and highly trainable. The literacy rate is 88 percent . . .

Sri Lanka's labor is among the least expensive in Asia . . .

The Sri Lankan worker ranks second in Asia in terms of relative productivity . . .

Inexpensive and efficient domestic help is also available . . .

After almost three years, Sri Lankan officials barely hide their disappointment that more than half the jobs that have been created in its FTZ involve garment industries, which the country was already promoting on its own. (Figures are not in my possession for Sri Lanka, but one study states that in the FTZs of Malaysia, the Philippines and Taiwan, 80 percent of the workers are women and 85 percent of them are under 25 years old. They work for half the pay of young males and older women.)

The economic costs so far have been

high and the return uncertain, given all the concessions. The potential political costs for Sri Lanka are discussed in the article; it is no accident that most FTZ host countries are dictatorships, and labor unions have been broken. As with colonialism, a local elite profits from its association with international money.

To be sure, S. Thondaman, president of a large labor union of Tamils who have worked largely on the tea and rubber estates and who is also Minister of Rural Industrial Development, told in an interview of his happiness with a Nestlé plant in the FTZ. In conjunction with the national milk board, which comes under his ministry, Nestlé holds 60 percent of a joint venture producing Sri Lanka's condensed milk. But Ranjith de Silva of the Christian Workers Fellowship, who has organized a rural milk cooperative of more than 250 members, says that recent sharp increases in the cost of cattle feed are likely to drive large numbers of small milk producers out of business. "I have this fear that,

[The Government] has pledged a just and free society based on democracy and socialism. The workers would be the owners and managers of the means of production, distribution and exchange. As events have turned out, ownership and management are passing increasingly to the hands of local and foreign capitalists and technocrats. They reap the fruits of the development process. The workers, on the contrary, are at the receiving end of the sledgehammer of the state through its legalized coercive power.

The role of the US and other foreign sources of investment in these matters is understood at least by some. One worker, pointing out that Ronald Reagan had praised the striking Polish workers, added: "But the American Government encourages its companies to invest in Sri Lanka. Workers be damned?"

Are things "better" in Sri Lanka? Both the British businessman on the plane and my cabdriver had elements of truth. But the figures that impressed the businessman (and *Fortune* and *Business Week*) don't tell the whole story. The Overseas Development Council has constructed a "Physical Quality of Life" index. Because the previous Governments of Sri Lanka "misspent" money on such things as health care, nutrition and education, the country once had the highest ranking in the world in relation to its low per-capita income. Now it has free enterprise for the poor and socialism for investors, domestic and foreign. □

when that happens, Nestlé will say it has to import some of that European excess milk."

In a 1979 select committee hearing, Ronnie de Mel, Minister of Finance, asks another committee member, "Could Sri Lankan industrialists not have got this quota and done this industry without any foreign help?"

The second person, A.Y.S. Gnanam, a member of the Greater Colombo Economic Commission which administers the zone, replies: "If you had announced your offer of a five-year tax holiday to industrialists in your last but one budget, then all the garment industries would have done very much better . . . because Sri Lanka has got the best garment industries. The one run by Mayura Garments is equally good as a foreign garment industry. If they were allowed to export, they would have done without the free trade zone."

To which the questioner, the Hon. de Mel, responded: "In other words, the free trade zone has only deprived the Sri Lankan industrialists."

CONTINUING THE DISCUSSION (I)

Why I Signed That Ad

The following responds to an open letter published in the issue of May 11 ("Dear Jim: Why Did You Sign?"). The writer is vice president of the Council on Religion and International Affairs, former editor of Worldview and a former associate editor of Commonweal. Further comment by readers is invited.

DEAR FRIENDS,

Thank you for your letter asking me why I signed the statement supporting American policy in El Salvador. I have read your letter with care as I have read the articles you have published on El Salvador in the last year, a number written by friends whom I know to be well-informed on Latin America. I appreciate your generous description of my work, but even more I appreciate the opportunity to present to the readers of CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS information and judgments that have not previously appeared in your pages.

The statement I signed asserted that the United States has a vital stake in "helping the Salvadoran Government to strengthen democratic institutions through free elections and further land reform" and in "holding the line against Soviet expansionism." I believe this to be the case and that, among the various policy options available, support of the present Salvadoran Government against the extreme right and the guerrilla left offers the best chance of achieving these aims.

These chances will be increased as that Government is allowed and encouraged to achieve its publicly declared objectives: (1) to follow through on the remarkable land reform initiated last year; (2) to bring under control the elements of the security forces who are responsible for much of the vicious killing in El Salvador, including those who are beneficiaries of the land reform; (3) to fulfill the promise of fair elections. These chances will be diminished as the forces of the far right, both those within the present Government and those opposed to it, are strengthened and as the militant left, with Soviet-bloc support, continues to disrupt the economy by sabotaging places of business, warehouses and public transportation.

The long-term success or failure of the land reform program will be a determinant element in the future of El Salvador. With the highest population density and one of the worst land-tenure systems of any country in Latin America, that small country has long suffered under extreme exploitation. Under present conditions land reform is both essential and very difficult. No one who is aware of the violence which attended land redistribution in roughly similar circumstances in other countries will

minimize the real obstacles that must be overcome in El Salvador. To note this is very different from questioning—as C&C has done—the competence, integrity, intention and will of those responsible for the program. If being an influential adviser to the program makes one responsible, then Roy L. Prosterman certainly is, and he has responded to a number of criticisms, some of which you express in your letter. I draw upon his testimony before Congress and elsewhere.

It is said that the land reform program is a foreign import, stamped "Made in the US." The principal provisions of *Ley Basica*, the basic land reform law, are those previously articulated in wholly Salvadoran documents, going back to 1971. When Jose Rodolfo Viera was appointed president of ISTA, the Government's agrarian reform agency, he was then Secretary General of UCS, a democratic peasant organization whose membership was greater than that of all other peasant groups combined. As you know, on January 3 of this year, Mr. Viera and two US advisers, Michael Hammer of the AFL-CIO's American Institute of Free Labor Development and Mark Pearlman, were shot down by what is generally believed to be a right-wing hit team.

No Hoax

It is said that the land reform program is ineffective, a deliberate hoax. However, according to Prosterman, 44 percent of the cultivated land has been transferred to 62,000 families of former landless laborers and to all 150,000 families of former tenants. Seventy percent of those who were landless at the beginning of 1980 now have land. Legal and financial arrangements for most of this process have yet to be completed, but the process is underway and, according to one member of the junta, "It is irreversible." (And one would not think that a hoax would provoke the murderous vehemence of the right.)

Mr. Prosterman, of course, could be biased or simply wrong. But the US Agency for International Development (AID) has said that the land reform program is working "truly fundamental economic and social change" and that it is "among the most fundamental reforms ever undertaken." And after noting the severe handicaps posed by lack of resources, civil disorder and a damaged economy, the AID report pointed to another reality made evident "by tears in the eyes of old *colonos* as they witness the formal installation of their Associations' new Junta Directiva; by a fierce determination on the part of many *campesinos* to work to make the reform

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that is increasingly theirs a reality; and finally by a small but growing group of noble Salvadorans who . . . work fourteen hours a day, seven days a week, to make El Salvador work again, to make their reform a reality and to make their country a freer one and keep it that way."

But AID is a US agency. It too could be misguided or simply wrong. However, reporting in *The New York Times* on the "general offensive" of the left in January of this year, Alan Riding suggested that one reason it failed is that the left "apparently miscalculated the impact on the peasants of land reforms decreed by the junta in March. There was no popular uprising." The peasants, apparently, are developing more faith in the land reform than in revolutionary violence.

But a single reporter from *The New York Times*, however well-intentioned, could also be wrong, and he is offering only a personal evaluation. True, but the available evidence also persuades other people. In *The Times* of March 15, 1981, Edward Schumacher reports:

A year after its inception, El Salvador's bold and disputed land reform distribution is taking hold . . . despite predictions of economic disaster, the harvests on newly-formed cooperatives were above the same as last year under the former owners. Perhaps more important, the American-aided program appears to be fulfilling its political objectives of undercutting the power of rightist oligarchs and winning peasants from leftist guerrillas.

But even two reporters might be wrong. Other people have made other judgments. Yes, but consider the opinion of Archbishop Rivera y Damas. In an interview on ABC's "Directions" on April 5, 1981, the bishop commented on what he had seen in an archdiocese when 26 landed properties had been affected. "Landed properties such as those have been worked in a way that has proved excellent. They have produced excellent yields." And again, "I think that the most urgently needed assistance should be aimed at ensuring that those reforms that are underway will be able to carry through to a successful conclusion . . . by giving impetus to such reforms we would be doing something favorable for the Salvadoran people."

Now, all of these people could be wrong—the technical experts, the analysts, the reporters, the peasants, the archbishop. But consider, my friends, so could you. And it would be a grievous thing to develop a vested interest in a failure of the reform program and to support those who would sabotage it.

Soviet Probes

To turn abruptly to military matters, the influence of the Soviet bloc and US military aid.

About the influence of the Soviet bloc and its supply of "possibly mythical arms" you seem to be excessively casual. Allow me to suggest grounds for reasonable con-

cern. Writing in the spring issue of *Foreign Policy*, Robert Leiken states, with supporting evidence:

The Soviet Union has quietly become a significant factor in Latin American affairs . . . Deep-rooted anti-Yankee sentiment and Cuban complicity have provided a conducive ideological atmosphere in which the Soviets have pursued their objectives with majestic impartiality, using not only sympathetic parties and guerrilla organizations but also reform movements, military juntas, and even right-wing dictatorships.

Although Soviet probes in Latin America do not signify an independent threat to US security, they are more serious precisely because they are components of and subordinate to the USSR's global strategy.

Soviet military writers recognize publicly that US strategic freedom in other parts of the globe depends on stability in the Caribbean. If regional war breaks out in Central America or if the Soviets develop Cuba-like relationships there, the USSR could drive a wedge between North and South America that, at the very least, would divert US military resources, already strained to the breaking point in other parts of the world.

To narrow this down to El Salvador. In *US News and World Report* of January 26, 1981, then Ambassador Robert White asserted:

I want to make very clear that the character of the left in El Salvador is far more dangerous than in Nicaragua . . . In El Salvador, the leadership of the armed left is unequivocally Marxist-Leninist and dedicated to taking power by force and violence. They are completely committed to eradicating United States influence from the region.

The armed left in El Salvador is attempting to do this by creating economic chaos, sabotage and killing. According to their own claims they are responsible for the deaths of over 5,000 Salvadorans. This is the guerrilla movement that, according to Ambassador White, Cuba has helped with training, propaganda and weapons. (Those who have more faith in the veracity of Castro than in our State Department might want to check his statements about Cuban aid to El Salvador's left.)

In the ABC interview from which I have already quoted, the archbishop was asked about possible Communist influence in South America. He responded:

It is true that it was Cuba yesterday, then Nicaragua and perhaps tomorrow El Salvador. All of this seems to be going according to a plan. And it is probable that if El Salvador falls, Guatemala might be next and then Honduras . . . everything does seem to be happening according to carefully planned steps.

Still, if the peasants, the people of El Salvador, choose to move in that direction . . . But, good friends, they do not. They are moving in the opposite direction, according to Rivera. Most of the people do not support the United Revolutionary Front. The "liberation movements" lost support "because the people saw that they tended toward conquest of power for its own sake and not toward satis-

fyng the hopes of the people." And, he added, most refugees are fleeing not government repression but the guerrillas (*Washington Post*, March 9, 1981).

The composition and leadership of the left. There is much evidence—as Ambassador White said—that the left is firmly controlled by Marxist-Leninists, not democratic partisans. The rule they would impose if free to do so, we know from their own statements and from recent history. Should those on the left who are democratic, who do wish to bring freedom and liberty to their country, be called “conscious tools or unwitting dupes”? I leave the labeling to others. I say their Communist allies, if they were able, would frustrate their hopes and struggles and dreams.

US military aid. Among many hard issues this is one of the hardest. Abstractly I can resolve it for myself by saying that the present Government of El Salvador deserves as much as it needs to defend itself—and no more. The attempt should be to lower the level of violence to which the people of El Salvador have been cruelly subjected. The actual determination of military aid can only be made by careful assessment of the threat, and this itself is subject to change. We can all agree, I think, that we should work for a political rather than a military solution.

I realize, my friends, that this letter is growing overlong and threatening to escape entirely the bounds of civil

communication. I have not felt it necessary to underline our points of agreement: that elements of the security forces have killed sadistically and indiscriminately, that the junta has failed to bring them under control, that evidence of specific killings has not been pursued, that some US officials have made irresponsible statements about the murder of nuns and religious. Nor have I raised questions about the veracity of a number of reports from church-related and human rights organizations attributing atrocities to the right. I have not, that is, responded to all your questions nor have I included many I would like to raise. Maybe another time.

A final word. In 1940 Reinhold Niebuhr wrote: “If we do not make discriminate judgments between social systems, we weaken the resolution to defend and extend civilization.” I think it is time to make those discriminate judgments now and to support those measures which will most nearly guarantee the development of democratic processes in El Salvador. This means support for the present Government in opposition to a murderous right and a disruptive left dependent on Soviet-bloc support. The alternatives to this position hold out promise for even greater bloodshed and suffering.

JIM FINN

P.S. The situation in El Salvador *has* changed within the last year. Don’t feel bound to past positions that have been overtaken by events.

For better understanding of the matter under discussion, we publish below the text of the advertisement published in The New York Times for April 6 stating the position of the Committee for the Free World. The headline was: “We—a group of intellectuals and religious leaders—applaud American policy in El Salvador.”

IN what the State Department accurately describes as “a textbook case of indirect armed aggression by Communist powers,” El Salvador has been under military attack by a coalition of guerrilla groups whose ability to wage war depends on weapons supplied by the Soviet Union through such client states as Cuba, Nicaragua, Viet Nam and others.

That these guerrillas, dominated by the Salvadoran Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist factions, should be getting weapons from the Soviet bloc is not surprising. If they succeed in taking over El Salvador, another country in this hemisphere would be added to Cuba and Nicaragua as instruments of the further expansion of the burgeoning Soviet empire. Nicaragua, for example, is among the few countries to have acquiesced in the Soviet

Here’s How the Argument Got Started

invasion of Afghanistan, and Cuban troops have been used in Africa and the Middle East to serve in the coming to power of parties subservient to the Soviet Union.

The fact that the Soviet bloc has been pouring arms into the arsenals of the guerrillas in El Salvador is, then, not surprising. What *is* surprising is the support the guerrillas have received from liberals and socialists both in the United States and abroad.

These non-Communist apologists for the guerrillas tell us—and themselves—that the war in El Salvador is caused by intolerable local conditions and not by outside intervention. Yet the Government in El Salvador, backed and encouraged by

the United States, has been working to improve those conditions. It has inaugurated a program of land reform so extensive that the extreme right has turned against it with as much murderous vehemence as the extreme left. Without intervention by the Soviet bloc there would be less violence and a better chance for the reforms to take hold, as well as for the present Government to bring the anti-democratic right under control. Indeed, we believe that only American protection, and aid, will make it possible for the Salvadorans now to create their own free and stable society, secure against depredations of both left and right.

The apologists also tell us, and themselves, that the insurgents are supported by the people of El Salvador. Yet the failure of the most recent military offensive launched by the guerrillas is acknowledged even by their allies in Cuba and Nicaragua to mean that they have not succeeded in enlisting popular support.

The apologists also tell us, and themselves, that by opposing the guerrillas the United States is aligning itself with the forces of “right-wing repression” and against the forces of “progressive

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change." Yet it is the Government of El Salvador that today represents progressive change. As for the guerrillas, similar movements which have come to power in Cuba, Viet Nam, and Cambodia have brought not "progressive change" but totalitarian regimes far more repressive than even the most repressive of the regimes they have replaced. Moreover being so much more ruthless in dealing with opposition than those earlier regimes, they are much less likely to be liberalized. Nor are they likely to be overthrown in their turn by movements genuinely seeking greater democratization and more protection for human rights.

Finally, the apologists tell us, and themselves, that "another Viet Nam" is in the

making in El Salvador. Yet there is little likelihood that American military and economic aid to the Government in El Salvador will lead either to the commitment of large numbers of American troops or to a defeat of the forces we are trying to help.

There is, however, a sense in which El Salvador *could* become another Viet Nam. If we abdicate and allow the Soviet bloc to force a Communist regime into existence there, El Salvador will suffer the same hideous fate that has befallen Viet Nam since that country was unified under totalitarian Communist rule: a new Gulag, thousands upon thousands of refugees driven into the sea, the destruction of any hope for future liberalization, and

the creation of another armed instrument of Soviet imperialism.

Because the United States has a vital stake not only in holding the line against Soviet expansionism and the totalitarian horrors that follow in its train but also in helping the Salvadoran Government to strengthen democratic institutions through free elections and further land reform, we deplore the misguided support being given by non-Communists to the forces opposing these aims. We applaud the determination of the United States Government to assist the Government of El Salvador which is working, against armed opposition, to build a more stable and equitable society and thereby add to the sum of freedom in the world. □

Judaism

(Continued from page 146)

glory, the covenant, the giving of the law, the worship and the promises . . . (Romans 9:4-5); and

Whereas, the faith of our Church holds that God does not break promises once made or covenants once sealed, a principle applying equally to the First and Ancient Covenant with Israel, as well as the Second and Newer Covenant with the Gentiles; and

Whereas, the 66th General Convention of the Episcopal Church, meeting in Denver in 1979, adopted a resolution calling upon "the leadership of the Episcopal Church, both clergy and laity, to deepen their commitment to Episcopal-Jewish dialogue and to interfaith cooperation in local communities"; therefore be it

Resolved, that the delegates to this 164th Annual Convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Ohio affirm their respect for the completeness and sufficiency of the Jewish faith, the source of our scriptural and theological heritage; and be it

Further resolved, that the delegates of this convention work to combat any apparent anti-Semitism among the clergy and laity of the church, and to eradicate anti-Jewish prejudice wherever it may be found to exist.

The resolution elicited several responses from members of the commission. One

PHILIP CULBERTSON is rector of Christ Episcopal Church, Oberlin, Ohio, and is a member of the executive board of the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel.

clergy member wrote: "My son is married to a Jewish girl whom we love and we also like her family, but I believe in John 3:3—Jesus Christ is the only way to the Father and He will take care of the Jews because He chose them first. I would go along with this resolution, eliminating the phrase in the first 'resolved'—'for the completeness and sufficiency of the Jewish faith.'"

'Doctrinal Extravagance'

Another clergy member wrote, "I am open to theological innovation, but the doctrinal extravagance of 'equal covenants' and the 'completeness and sufficiency of the Jewish faith' is unnecessary, inappropriate and self-defeating of the main purpose of the resolution. I would recommend the removal of the second and fourth 'whereas' clauses and the first 'resolved' clause containing these generalizations."

The chairperson of the Ecumenical Commission and the administrative assistant to the Bishop both phoned to say that while they wholeheartedly supported the resolution, they were afraid that the phrase "the completeness and sufficiency of the Jewish faith" was so theologically loaded for Christians that it would produce enormous dissension on the floor of convention, thereby bringing about the defeat of the entire resolution.

I wanted to make sure this resolution got to convention floor for consideration. I also knew that the Cleveland press covers diocesan convention and that a fight on convention floor over "the completeness and sufficiency of the Jewish faith" would project an undesirable im-

age of the church. I agreed to change the phrase "affirm their respect for the completeness and sufficiency of the Jewish faith" to "affirm their respect for the Jewish faith," hoping that the removal of this theological stumbling block would assure the passage of the resolution. The resolution thus amended was heartily, though not unanimously, endorsed by the Ecumenical Commission and recommended for passage by both the Diocesan Council and the Convention Resolutions Committee.

On February 7 the Episcopal Diocese of Ohio gathered some 200 strong—clergy and laity—for its annual convention at an elegant hotel in downtown Cleveland. We had all heard the buzz on several potentially controversial resolutions which would be presented: one calling for a change to nonsexist language in the canons and constitution of the diocese; one calling for bilateral disarmament in the US-Soviet nuclear arms race; one setting an embarrassingly low minimum clergy salary; one calling for the establishment of a full-time position at diocesan level for an officer for evangelism and renewal (evidence of the growing charismatic element in the diocese); and the resolution on anti-Semitism. The resolutions were to be discussed the following day, but the convention was already tense with lobbying, heated theological argument and pamphleteering.

Late that afternoon a young priest came to me to say that while he deplored anti-Semitism as a social phenomenon, he could not support a resolution which did not posit the exclusivity and centrality of salvation through Jesus Christ alone. Would I be willing to amend my resolu-

tion before its presentation by removing "whereas" clauses two and four? I declined. He then asked if I would be willing to withdraw my resolution, in order to save convention the embarrassment of voting on something that was clearly a betrayal of the central Christian message of salvation. Again I declined. He informed me, with cold politeness, that he planned to submit a substitute resolution which would also deplore anti-Semitism but without compromising the true biblical position that Jews cannot be saved until they accept Christ as their Lord and Savior.

Debate Begins

The next day the resolution was presented to convention with the recommendation for its passage. The first to address it was the chairperson of the Ecumenical Commission: "Very often we think about anti-Semitism and we look outside at the world around us; it's out there. But anti-Semitism can also be in here, within ourselves. I think we need to take a very careful look at ourselves in terms of our relationships with our Jewish brothers and sisters, the language we use, our intent, and exercise care and love in all of our relationships with them."

The next speaker, rector of a charismatic parish northeast of Cleveland, moved a substitute resolution:

Whereas, our Jewish brethren are often, even now as in times past, subject to anti-Semitic persecution; and

Whereas, we are reminded by our Lord to love our neighbors as ourselves; and

Whereas, we are told by our Lord in Matthew 25:31-46 to care for those in need; and

Whereas, the 66th General Convention of the Episcopal Church, meeting in Denver in 1979, adopted a resolution calling upon "the leadership of the Episcopal Church, both clergy and laity, to deepen their commitment to Episcopal-Jewish dialogue and to interfaith cooperation in local communities"; therefore be it

Resolved, that the delegates of this convention work to overcome any anti-Semitism wherever it is found, especially where it is found among clergy and laity of this church.

When debate resumed, the author of

the substitute resolution spoke first: "I could not vote for the original resolution because of some of the 'whereas' statements, such as the one suggesting that the new covenant applies only to people who are Gentile by birth. The same problem applies to the passage from Romans 9; . . . the total context says that Paul would rather himself be accursed in order that the Jews might be saved, which assumes that they are not being saved. I would hate terribly to vote against a resolution decrying anti-Semitism, but I would be forced to do so on the basis of the 'whereas' in the original resolution."

The next speaker was the rector of the Episcopal parish at Kenyon College. "I find myself more bothered by the substitute than I do by the original resolution. My reading of Romans 9-11 does not suggest to me that Paul understands that the Jews are indeed accursed. The close of those three chapters is a clear statement by Paul to his readers of the role of the Jews in salvation history, a role which is not ended by the new covenant, but which is a part of it. This understanding of Romans is not inimical to the Christian proclamation.

"I understand also that confession has sometimes been said to be good for the soul. I think that Christians need to be continuously aware of the facts which are stated in the 'whereas' of the original resolution. It was some Christian teaching of Jews as Christ-killers that did so much to prepare the way for the Holocaust in Germany.

"One of the times that Jews get most concerned for their personal safety is those times of religious revival among Christians. You are aware of the concerns which were expressed in Key '73. There was great anxiety in the Jewish community about what might come of this, because their history told them that the pogroms of ancient times came when Christians really began to rev themselves up in spiritual renewal. Christians couldn't seem to do it without finding a scapegoat to persecute.

'Six Million Lies'

"I don't know about the rest of you, but down in our area we are getting newspaper letters to the editor saying the Holocaust never happened; it's 'six million lies.' We're getting people who are trying to rewrite history to say that the Jews are

just trying to manipulate us again. I would like to see the substitute resolution defeated, the original passed, and to accept our role in this—not the role of breast-beating and beating ourselves to death—but to be mature enough to say Yes, we have sinned and fallen short. We do repent ourselves of our sin and seek to amend our lives, and here is one of the ways we'll try to do it."

The next speaker generated a murmur of shock with her opening statement. She was the Rev. Katherine Anne Levin, who spoke with tears welling up in her eyes:

"Ladies and gentlemen, many of you know that I am a Jew. In case there is any doubt about what the rector from Kenyon has said, anti-Semitism is on the rise again. I offer one incident of many. I was raised in the city of St. Paul, which until a very short time ago was known to sociologists as one of the three cities in this country in which there was no visible anti-Semitism. This summer the synagogue in which I worshipped was desecrated. That's one incident of many throughout this country.

"I urge this convention to adopt as strong a resolution opposing anti-Semitism as it can, and I do not believe this substitute resolution is sufficiently strong. First, it ignores the fact that Jews, and that includes Jews today, are the flesh and blood of Christ; and secondly, it ignores St. Paul's statement that the Jews as the people of God are the trunk of the tree of which the church is but the branch. I urge the passage of the original resolution, for the sake of making as strong a statement as possible of the unity of all the people of God through time and through space."

The next speaker was a young laywoman from a Cleveland suburb. "The substitute resolution, if you will look at the third 'whereas,' borders itself on being an anti-Semitic statement. We are assuming that the Jews are in need of our help. I urge the defeat of the substitute resolution and the passage of the original resolution."

After further discussion, including the presentation of some statistics from the 1970 study by Stark, Foster, Glock and Quinley, *Wayward Shepherds* (Harper and Row, 1971), which documents the extent of theological and cultural anti-Semitism among clergy in California, the question was called. By a voice vote of approximately two-thirds majority, the substitute resolution was defeated, and debate returned to the original resolution.

Evangelization of Jews

A young charismatic priest from a small parish east of Cleveland rose to address the original resolution:

"I would like to speak strongly in favor of a motion on anti-Semitism, and yet I have very strong concerns about this resolution. The difficulty I have with 'whereas' clauses two and four is that they imply that loving, committed and humble evangelism of Jewish people is an anti-Semitic act. This in turn raises the substantive issue of the finality of Jesus Christ. The Old Testament points directly to fulfillment in the Messiah, and the New Testament proclaims that our Lord Jesus Christ is that Messiah who is the fulfillment of the Old Covenant.

"St. Peter made it a pattern of his life to proclaim to the Jews the Gospel that Jesus Christ is the Messiah. St. Paul made it a pattern of his ministry to go to the synagogues all around the Mediterranean area and to start with the Jews. He stated again and again, particularly in Romans and Galatians, that no man can be saved by the law, but only by faith in Jesus Christ. The finality of Jesus Christ is embodied in the creeds of the church and in the Articles of Religion of the Episcopal Church. I would hope that we could separate out the issue of whether evangelism of Jewish people is an anti-Semitic act and give that issue its due consideration in a proper forum.

"And finally, I would like to say that there is a lot of talk these days about human rights. It is my deep conviction that the basic human right of every single person in this creation is the opportunity to hear the Gospel of Jesus Christ preached by people who are committed to that Gospel, who live it with their lives, who share it with humility. I do not believe this to be an anti-Semitic act."

A layman from a small charismatic parish in the diocese rose to amend the resolution by deleting these words in the second "whereas" clause: "Based on a narrow and exclusivist interpretation of the Johannine charge, 'No man cometh unto the Father, but by me.'" He observed: "One of the reasons that I am limiting the amendment to the second 'whereas' is that I think the reference to Romans in the third 'whereas' is given in such a way that it leaves room for interpretation, and I hope it would not be offensive to those on either side of the theological question. But I find particular

difficulty with the theological implications in the second 'whereas' and therefore propose this deletion."

I went to the microphone to address the proposed deletion. "I believe the amendment again begs the issue of addressing the theological concepts which feed the anti-Semitism of the church. I quote from Tomasso Federici, of the Vatican Office on Christian Unity: 'None of the inspired Christian sources justifies the notion that the Old Covenant of the Lord with his people has been abrogated or in any sense nullified. The covenant of the Jewish people is permanent. The church thus rejects in a clear way every form of proselytism. Also excluded are all hateful forms of comparison between Christianity and Judaism.'

"A previous speaker mentioned Key '73; I quote from the Rev. Billy Graham's response to that campaign: 'I believe God has always had a special relationship with the Jewish people. In my evangelistic efforts I have never felt called to single out the Jews. Just as Judaism frowns on proselytizing that is coercive, so do I.' I believe we must defeat this amendment in order to keep before us the memory that our theology, as it stands unexamined, holds out a false challenge to proselytize Jews, a challenge which I feel is a misunderstanding of the Gospel commission."

The vote was called on the amendment. It was defeated by a vote of 162-111. A voice vote was called on the original, unamended resolution: It passed by an approximately two-thirds majority.

Finding the Moral(s)

The whole consideration of this resolution on anti-Semitism took no more than one-half hour out of a 36-hour convention. In my view, however, there are at least eight lessons to be learned from this all-too-brief discussion:

(1) The question of the relationship between Jew and Christian depends upon some particularly difficult passages of New Testament scripture. The standard exegesis of these passages is generally narrow and exclusivist, and the exclusion from salvation of all those who do not accept the Lordship of Jesus is widely assumed. Few clergy are trained to exegete these passages in a nonexclusivist manner, in spite of the current scholarship in "the teaching of contempt," particularly in the Gospel of John.

(2) It remains broadly held, particularly in charismatic religious circles, that the Old Covenant was at least nullified, if not abrogated, by the coming of Jesus and the failure of the Jews to recognize his true Messianic character.

(3) Proselytizing of Jews is not considered by many clergy to be an anti-Semitic act. They are particularly able to justify proselytism if it is conducted in an atmosphere of "Christian humility."

(4) The theological issues within the resolution on anti-Semitism were argued almost exclusively by the clergy, as opposed to lay delegates to convention. This was not the case with most other resolutions at convention, which were frequently addressed by the laity. Perhaps the laity find the issue of the salvation of the Jews too theologically complicated to address.

(5) The Episcopal Church has consistently, on a national level, affirmed its respect for Jews and Judaism as a living faith, beginning with its resolution on deicide at the 1964 General Convention in St. Louis. Most clergy delegates to convention seemed to be unaware of the Episcopal Church's commitment to Jewish-episcopal dialogue conducted in an atmosphere of respect and forbearance.

(6) It is very easy for clergy to fall into anti-Semitic thought patterns, as witness the substitute resolution describing the Jews as being "in need." Even while ostensibly deploring anti-Semitism, the clergy tend to view Judaism as an inferior religion.

(7) Charismatics addressing this issue at convention repeatedly argued for a weaker resolution for the sake of "unity" and "not creating offense."

(8) While anti-Semitism may be deplored as a social or economic phenomenon, the clergy are unwilling to let go of the theological and scriptural roots of anti-Semitism, thus separating cultural anti-Semitism, which may be safely opposed, from theological anti-Semitism, which is God's word.

The source of continuing anti-Semitic thinking in a large part of the American population is the local preacher, who is all too unwilling to reexamine his or her personal theology. Anti-Semitism will continue to be subtly and unconsciously taught from church pulpits until clergy are taught to exegete New Testament scripture in a way which does not exclude from salvation the Jewish people, God's first chosen, the contemporary partners in service to God of the Christian faithful. □

CONTINUING THE DISCUSSION (II)

Buying Distance from the Carnage

Carol Harting Wilcox

IN "TRICKLE-DOWN VIOLENCE" (C&C, April 27) William Stringfellow disclosed the unnerving links between our society's levels of violence—from interpersonal to international violence. While conventional morality has managed fairly successfully to separate these levels of violence into neat intellectual cubbyholes, Stringfellow has shown the exercise to be an illusion.

What has fed this morally crippling fantasy is the fact that almost alone among modern nations, America's wars have been both distant from our shores and, until Viet Nam, conducive to economic growth and prosperity. Viet Nam is an agonizing memory at least in part because the distant carnage spilled electronically into our living rooms—until we turned it off. The only popular "heroes" from that conflagration were those who visited their destruction on "the enemy" from a lofty 30,000 feet and were shot down and captured. The men who lived through the carnage close-up came home to an America that wanted to forget.

The United States military presence around the globe has taken on a surrealistic quality, as weaponry of unprecedented cruelty is casually deployed, eagerly hawked to our friends, routinely brandished before our enemies. Where but in America do people babble earnestly about "clean bombs," "surgical strikes," "minimal collateral damage" and other absurdist fantasies? Where else would respectable scholars solemnly decree that we "must possess the power to wage nuclear war rationally?" (Colin S. Gray and Keith Payne, "Victory is Possible," *Foreign Policy*, Summer 1980.) And now, under the fresh assertiveness of a remilitarized America, no part of the globe is off limits to "the projection of American power."

In an authoritative account in *The New York Times* (April 19), Administration officials disclosed "new policy guidelines" in which US forces are "to defend the nation's interests as far away from American

shores as . . . resources will permit" (emphasis supplied).

It is scarcely remarkable that our allies are edgy. Europeans have long feared that the superpowers would try to confine a confrontation to their hapless precincts. And those fears have renewed plausibility now. Japan finds its US-imposed anti-war Constitution a fragile bulwark against the growing pressure from Washington to rearm and prepare for new conflict in the Pacific. Filipinos suspect that under the new belligerence, American bases will serve as prime staging areas—and hence, inviting targets—for increasingly probable conflict in the Indian Ocean. While opposition groups there regard the bases as incompatible with Philippine sovereignty, our Government regards them as having strategic importance to our national security. This puts us in the position not merely of tolerating a pro-American dictatorship but of requiring one—for Filipinos must not be permitted to participate in defining for themselves what *their* interests demand.

The volunteer army may also serve to distance us from the bloodletting. It too feeds the illusion that American power can be successfully "projected"—to keep the oil flowing and protect access to strategic materials, to keep friendly governments both intact and friendly, to frustrate Communist takeovers and so on. And all of this without interrupting the lives of the young people who count in middle and upper class America. Disadvantaged sectors of society can be counted on, bribed by careerist incentives, to furnish the bodies.

Thus the rest of us are spared from having to re-think, in the hellish light of thermonuclear reality, just what are the bedrock values and interests that we are willing to pay for and defend militarily—with the precious lives of our own children if necessary—and how American influence and power can be organized and deployed to promote a world order hospitable to those bedrock values and interests. Is it possible that opposition to the draft may serve, perversely, to sustain the illusion of distance?

The recent lifting of the grain embargo provides an instructive lesson in view of the cancerous swelling of the military budget. The embargo occasioned sufficient discomfort among important constituencies *at home* that this peaceful tool of diplomacy had to be abandoned. Presumably gunboat diplomacy will serve in the future as a politically less stressful response to provocation.

The reassuring fiction that if we just put up the money our national security can be commandeered by remote control must give way to a new realism. We cannot take suicidal risks without numbering ourselves and civilization itself among the probable casualties. But it won't be easy. The Plowshares Eight dramatically unmasked the pretense of distance—and they are going to prison for it. □

Cards and Letters



Double Standards of Violence

TO THE EDITOR: "Violence is Violence is Violence," according to Stringfellow. Accordingly, the Berrigans are guilty of advocating violence in as unjustifiable a way as anyone else. So, it is evident that your issue in which Stringfellow and Berrigan are emphasized is self-contradictory.

I can see the Crisis in all this, but I fail to see the Christianity.

Your self-contradictory issue makes it clear that it is truly "better to be Red than Dead," according to you.

When the Berrigans and Stringfellow can demonstrate against Soviet nuclear actions in Moscow and not be arrested, maybe I will accept it. Otherwise, count me as an unreconstructed redneck trying to live Christianly in a very mixed-up world; not the least mixed up are Stringfellow and Berrigan and the editor of CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS.

(The Rev.) H. M. RICHARDSON
Wye Mills, MD

Christianity and Crisis

CAROL HARTING WILCOX has written on social and political issues for a number of publications. She lives in Morgantown, W. Va.

Another View of Violence

TO THE EDITOR: William Stringfellow is incorrect (in "Trickle-Down Violence," *C&C*, April 27) when he suggests that "the rhetoric which circulates in the aftermath of assassination is ineffectual in mitigating that violence because that rhetoric has not identified and addressed the rudimentary connection between the sporadic violence of the assassin and the pervasive violence of American policy, foreign and domestic."

Explicit in Mr. Stringfellow's position is the view that we are faced with such a violent environment because of the official violence of our nuclear policy. However, violence infested the landscape long before the United States committed itself to "military violence of apocalyptic scope." Indeed, Stringfellow reminded several people of that on Ash Wednesday last.

We are faced with so much violence because people believe that violence, if it be not moral or good, nevertheless is necessary, is effectual, provides security, is inevitable, is prudent. But those beliefs have been with us much longer than the national message regarding nuclear weaponry.

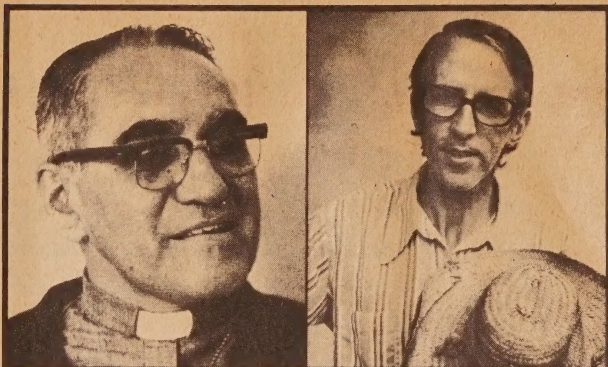
Campaigns to control nuclear weapons are not much different from campaigns to control "Saturday night specials." They are both worthy of our support. But so long as we are faced with the extant beliefs about the value of violence, they will both, unfortunately, suffer similar fates.

I am not naive about this. Efforts to show that the beliefs are wrongheaded will undoubtedly fall on deaf ears. To point out that the arming of storekeepers may lead thieves to shoot immediately or at the slightest twitch rather than take any chances will, I am sure, be ignored. The next step would be for storekeepers to shoot at suspicious-looking people as they enter. Let's hope and pray that this scenario does not come to be.

Our beliefs about violence are so well entrenched that efforts to alter them face heavy obstacles. We are convinced that there are people out there ready to mug us. Likewise, we are convinced that there are countries out there ready to bury us. We must be one step ahead with our firepower. Their fear of us is our only salvation.

What makes the rhetoric in the aftermath of assassination so ineffectual is exactly what makes the rhetoric about control of nuclear weapons so ineffectual. Neither addresses the beliefs which give rise to the violence. Until we decry rather than extol the "virtue" of violence, violence will be pervasive rather than a sometime thing.

WILLIAM F. BARR
St. Davids, PA



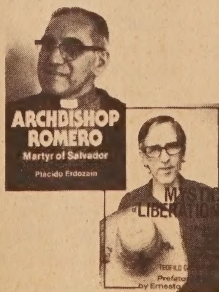
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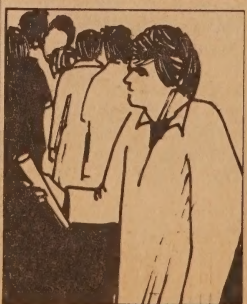
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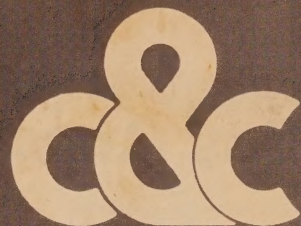
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Gay Questions, Straight Answers

Gay Questions, Straight Answers

ON MAY 16 the 190th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church will convene in San Diego to decide, among other questions, the denomination's future policy on the ordination of homosexuals. Over the years this journal has repeatedly addressed that issue and related matters, most exhaustively in our special issue of May 30-June 13, 1977. Our views are known; why repeat them now? One reason is a need to respond to recently published opinions contrary to our own; the more fundamental reason has to do with the nature of this question.

Whatever prefix is attached to it, sexuality is important. Sexuality can be a great nuisance; it is sometimes a great bore. Sexuality is at once a mystery, a joke, a trial, an itch; sometimes the source of horrid doubts, sometimes the means of joyous affirmation. Paradoxically, one can distort its centrality by becoming obsessed with it in divers ways: by making sexual experience the goal of all one's striving or by making sexual conduct the one test of personal integrity—particularly the integrity of others. Sexuality is as key to us outside the bedroom and the courting ritual as within. The way we apprehend and use our sexuality is a matter more of identity than of "lifestyle." Too often our grasp of ourselves as sexual beings is imposed on us by social convention, cultural pressure and current fads more than it derives from our own reflection and self-knowledge.

Whatever we do with our sexuality, we will not escape it. I (any "I" among us all) may live out my life without experiencing nuclear bombing or political revolution or economic collapse—topics frequently taken up in these pages. I cannot escape my sexuality or the sexuality of others, any more than I can jump out of my skin—which is a sex organ. I am a sexed being, and so is every bodied person, whether a commissioner of the General Assembly or a two-year-old playing in the dust of a village in Botswana.

Sexuality is important also for the church. For many of us there are few if any formulas of language more intensely moving than the phrases pronounced by the minister at a religious wedding, most especially in those rituals that candidly evoke the blessing of God upon the sexual-personal union of the partners. Equally, no one who reads biographies, novels, social

histories can be unaware of the intolerable blight that has been put on many lives by the teachings on sex of persons speaking for the church and with its authority.

There is no question that the church's praise of wholesome sexuality, of purity and fidelity have helped many to escape from idolatrous lust. (Lust exists and can be idolatrous: self- and body-worship.) There is also no question that church persons addressing problems of sexuality often miss the point by applying dead rules with mechanistic insensitivity. Partly through the church's influence, some people still identify all of "morality" with the observance of norms of sexual conduct. A man who is regularly guilty of intramarital rape but never has affairs may never be instructed by the church; a woman who pays the "marital debt" whenever asked but grudgingly, without passion or generosity, may never be challenged. The church has not often been ahead of the culture (more often behind) in humanizing sex or in exploring the meaning of gender roles.

Confusing the Issues

This is not a matter of past history. Addressing the question put to the General Assembly, the publisher of *A.D.* magazine thinks it pertinent to comment that "the morality of a particular expression of sexual union is not judged on the basis of the quality of the relationship between the people involved." What kind of morality is this? It is not *human*; how can it be *Christian*? And the editor of *The Christian Century*, speaking to the same question, insists on defining the issue as a "church polity matter relating to prevailing ecclesiastical standards of human sexual behavior." The context makes clear that "human" here means "clerical": what is permitted to ministers.

A matter of *polity*? A question of *ecclesiastical* standards? The task force that was appointed to help the General Assembly deal with the question spent 14 months at its task and produced nearly 200 pages of single-spaced typescript in reporting its findings. It would not have taken five minutes to determine nor more than a paragraph to describe "prevailing ecclesiastical standards" with regard to ministerial sex.

The *Century* editorial deserves closer attention—not, we stress, because of any lack of esteem for that publication on our part (on most issues that interest both journals, we are at one) or for the author of the editorial, Editor James M. Wall (*au contraire*). One reason for challenging the editorial is that it presumably will have influence in San Diego. Another is that it exemplifies one of the ways in which the commissioners at the assembly will be tempted to evade the question put to them.

By way of preface:

(1) The General Assembly is free to adopt any policy on the question that it chooses, including the option of not taking any position at all; it can receive, adopt, ignore, reject or table the report of its task force.

(2) The *position* declared by the majority of the task force is that homosexual genital behavior is not sinful in and of itself. The *policy* the majority recommends, in view of the differing viewpoints prevailing within the denomination, is that the General Assembly should not impose the majority viewpoint or any other on the whole church. It should rather leave to individual presbyteries the task of deciding, case by case, whether individual candidates for ordination who affirm their homosexuality (and who do not pledge celibacy) exhibit the gifts and graces required for ordination. In making their judgment, presbyteries would make use of their own understanding of relevant scriptural, scientific and experiential sources.

(3) The *position* expressed in the minority report is that homosexual behavior is contrary to God's will. In view of this finding, the minority recommends as *policy* that the General Assembly should adopt a definitive and binding interpretation of the church's constitution to the effect that self-affirming, practicing homosexuals are not eligible for ordination.

Editor Wall acknowledges the existence of differing viewpoints toward the moral acceptability of homosexual genital relations, but he refrains from any clear statement of his own on the question. He goes further in the direction of non-decision, arguing that though the debate on this issue is "crucial," both for the church and for society, "the political forum of a General Assembly is not the place to resolve a conflict that touches such deep levels of human emotion."

It would seem, then, that *The Century* supports the majority recommendation, which specifically asks the assembly to avoid a denomination-wide decision. Not so; Mr. Wall endorses the minority policy choice. Here is a puzzle indeed. It is rationalized, if not made truly plain, in a deft paragraph that purports to show the alleged inconsistency of the majority statement.

Mr. Wall points out, correctly enough, that if a *heterosexual* candidate for ordination were to an-

nounce to the presbytery his or her intention to be sexually active outside marriage, the presbytery could not and would not accept that person's candidacy. But (Mr. Wall suggests) the "prevailing ecclesiastical standards" for sexual activity of clergy cannot be different for homosexuals. It happens, however, that marriage is not an available option for homosexuals, since the church does not recognize any form of homosexual marriage. Thus the majority "has approved in principle what it knows will be rejected by local judicatories."

What we have here is a neatly crafted churchly version of the military's Catch 22. In Joseph Heller's novel the protagonist is perfectly free to demand reassignment from murderous bombing missions on psychiatric grounds. Since doing this is so sensible, however, his application will demonstrate that he is perfectly sane; therefore he will not qualify for reassignment. Mr. Wall's trap is not quite as perfect as Mr. Heller's. Homosexual candidates can escape it by shutting up about their orientation or lying about their intentions. But despite that imperfection it would still work after a fashion: It would take the church off the hook.

Deft, But Deceptive

We wonder whether Mr. Wall sought to learn why his deft solution did not occur to the minority members of the task force in all their months of study. As we read the minority report, the reason is that the members of the minority refused to trivialize the issue

Late News

from the Associated Church Press meeting in St. Louis is that CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS was chosen to receive its 1978 Award of Merit for feature articles. The article honored is James B. Nelson's "Homosexuality and the Church," which appeared in our April 4, 1977 issue.

The citation accompanying the award states: "This article reviews the range of biblical interpretation and theological opinion with regard to the moral character of homosexual practice. A marvelous example of scholarly thought, expressed in clear, understandable prose. It is required reading for any Christian discussing the subject."

James R. Nelson is professor of Christian ethics at United Theological Seminary of the Twin Cities. His article appeared originally in the seminary's journal, *Theological Markings*, and will be included in his book from Pilgrim Press, *Embodiment: An Approach to Sexuality and Christian Theology*.

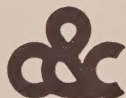
as some of their defenders (Editor Wall is not alone) are trying to do. The minority's reason for rejecting the ordination of homosexuals was not that this would offend against "ecclesiastical standards" for clergypersons. As they interpreted their mandate—correctly, we believe—they were asked to pronounce on the basic question of the morality of homosexual practice. Their answer was that homosexual genital behavior is sinful, unnatural, condemned by God.

That is a forthright statement. Clearly, however, in view of the voluminous evidence compiled jointly by the minority and the majority of the task force, there is a differing judgment that can be held in good faith by a conscientious Christian. Consider: If the minority view is in error—that is, if homosexual expressions of affection and commitment are acceptable before God, if scriptural texts adduced in proof of God's condemnation should be seen as cultural products rather than clear statements of divine judgment, if persecution and labeling of homosexuals are better proof of our fallen nature than is homosexual love, if our aversion to homosexuals derives from our own ignorance and inner fears rather than from fidelity to God's word or from experience of the Spirit's gifts as evidenced by

Christian homosexuals—if all that is true, what then is to be said about the absence of a ritual to recognize, bless and sanctify a covenant relationship between homosexual persons? We believe the minority, if it could accept these premises, would concur that the impossibility of a blessing for homosexual unions is not the problem of homosexuals; it is a problem of the church. And if "prevailing ecclesiastical standards" deprive Christians of needed recognition and the grace of communion, the immorality is that of the imperfect church.

The beauty of the majority recommendation is that it does not require any church persons to believe what they profess to deny, or to deny what they believe, or to act in a state of uncertain conscience, but that at the same time it does require continuing study, attention and reflection at the "local level," where all Presbyterians live. Such a stance, we submit, shows compassion equally for the conflicted heterosexual majority and for the distressed homosexual minority. From both it asks patience, prayer and openness to the Spirit. It is an interim answer, appropriate for a question that is still clouded. We hope the General Assembly will accept it.

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Miracle in Bolivia

Four Women Confront a Nation

Wilson T. Boots

AROUND THE TURN OF THE YEAR—from late December 1977 to mid-January 1978—a kind of miracle took place in Bolivia. It was not an otherworldly apparition or a series of physical cures; that kind of phenomenon would be better known by now. What happened was that a group of four women and fourteen children set out to change the course of their country's history. And succeeded.

It was a tiny band with practically no resources. The women were politically aware, and religiously devout, but they had little education and no experience on the national stage. The only group behind them—other than their own children, ages 8 through 14—were 50 others like themselves, wives of tin miners banned from their jobs for union activity.

In the Bolivian context what the women demanded went beyond reason. They asked an immediate, unrestricted amnesty for political exiles and refugees, restoration of jobs for workers fired for organizing, reinstatement of labor unions and removal of the army from the mines. A remarkable set of aspirations for such a group. But less than a month after they announced the goals, the movement they launched had forced the military dictatorship of General Hugo Banzer to grant the substance of all their demands. As this is being written, three months later, an informed observer just back from La Paz reports that the Government is still honoring the commitments it made to the women and their allies. Not only are the unions functioning again, but so are political parties. Even now a political campaign is being conducted looking to an election in July that will restore civilian government and constitutional processes in Bolivia.

In a fallen world all victories for truth and justice are fragile. There are hard-line, anti-democratic, anti-worker forces still very much in place in Bolivia. And the United States Government, even though its representatives played a helpful role in the negotiations last January, has created grave new risks by its announcement in March of a plan to sell 45,000 tons of tin from its strategic reserve. The mere announce-

ment immediately depressed the world price of tin, seriously threatening the Bolivian economy and endangering the budding hope of political stability under an elected regime.

Yet there *was* a victory, and one that deserves to be celebrated throughout the world. It has especially great significance to those whose commitment to social justice rises from the Gospel, who believe in the power of nonviolence to effect social change and who understand the immense potential of Third World women to move their societies.

At a Mass of thanksgiving offered in the courtyard at San Calixto school the day after the Government had given way, a woman who took part in the strike rose and said, "I want all of you to realize that it was the women who did this, and that we are good for something besides cooking, cleaning and looking after children."

For a brief period during the climactic hours of this struggle I was privileged, as one of three observers on the scene representing US and world churches, to watch the drama unfold and even to have some part in nurturing the tense negotiations that took place. I was there to represent the National and World Councils of Churches. The other observers were Sister Jo Marie Griesgraber, C. PP.S., deputy director of the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), and the Rev. Alan McCoy, O.F.M., representing the (US) National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Needless to say, even as observers we were not neutrals, and as participants we were not privy to all that took place. Acknowledging these limitations, I offer this initial account of a series of events that still astonish me as I record them.

Weapon of the Weak

First, the women: four persons at once very ordinary and most extraordinary. They were Nellie Paniagua, 45, and Angelica Flores, 31, whose husbands' arrests and firings precipitated the women's decision; Aurora Lora, 25, whose husband was in hiding and who was expecting a child; and Luzmila Pimentel, 24, whose husband was in jail. Serving as spokesperson for the four, but not herself joining in the strike, was

WILSON T. BOOTS is senior minister of Broadway Temple United Methodist Church in New York City. Over the past 25 years he has lived and worked in both Bolivia and Argentina and travels to both countries frequently.

Domitila Chungara, about 40, whose autobiography (transcribed from tape recordings) has already been published in Spanish and will be available in English translation later this year: *Si me permiten hablar* ("If you would let me speak").

The weapon the women wielded against the entrenched Bolivian establishment was, of course, a weapon of the weak—a hunger strike. It is a weapon used only at great risk. On Sunday, January 15, when we observers first encountered them, they lay stretched on cots in the residence of the Archbishop of La Paz. By that time they had been fasting from all but glucose and liquids for a period of 19 days. Their faces were remarkable: bronze with their Aymara Indian background, filled with strength and determination, but marked also with suffering. Two of them were too weak even to raise their hands, and yet as we touched the women we gained some sense of power flowing to us. The day, we noted, was the anniversary of the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr.

The developments leading to that moment had begun on October 11, 1977, when a member of the local human rights assembly at Siglo XX (Twentieth Century) tin mine, eight hours' driving time from La Paz, was arrested, beaten and tortured. Eleven days later another member of the assembly underwent the same experience. Eventually they were released, but forbidden to return to their jobs or even to their homes. Their wives waited for the traditional Christmas amnesty to be announced by the Government, but when it came their hopes were dashed: The amnesty did not reinstate workers dismissed for union or political activity, nor did it permit political and union leaders living in exile to re-enter Bolivia.

The episode struck the women—both those directly involved and others with similar experiences—as a final provocation. The life of Bolivian tin miners and their families is a desperate affair. Though tin prices were then at their highest level in years, miners received wages of 35 pesos (about \$1.50) a day. They live in one-room houses, four meters by five. Their children can attend school, and they have access to the company store, which sells limited quantities of rice, meat, bread and sugar at lower than market prices—but when a miner loses his job the family must move out of its home, the children leave school and the company store will not serve them. One woman showed Sister Jo Marie her husband's pay statement; after the company store had been paid off, he received 92 pesos (\$4.60) to feed eight children for a month. A miner's life expectancy is 35 years; statistically he can expect to die of silicosis.

The military government has ruled Bolivia with a firm and oppressive hand since 1971, when it gained power in a coup. That takeover has meant wealth for

some military leaders and for a small business and financial elite, while poverty has worsened for a full 70 percent of the people. Though the Banzer regime has not resorted to the extremes found in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, there have been many summary arrests, exiles, disappearances and instances of the use of torture. In 1974, in response to unrest, the Government suspended all political parties and all unions. It also instituted universal obligatory civil service, under which the Government can assign any worker to any job. The price of protest is exile or prison, always with the possibility of torture.

The Government appeared secure and determined, and there was always the possibility that new protests would bring still harsher measures. But to the women at Siglo XX mine the latest arrests and beatings served as a spark; like Rosa Parks boarding a segregated bus in Montgomery, they were tired of merely enduring, and were ready to involve themselves directly. The 50 wives of miners not permitted to work met, decided on a hunger strike and chose four from their number—including the wives of the two men tortured—to go to La Paz.

In the capital city they met with the Roman Catholic Archbishop, the Most Rev. Jorge Marique, and announced their plans. The choice was shrewd; the Archbishop is himself a man of the people, with Aymara blood in his veins; strong, simple, devoted to the poor, fully aware of their plight and its causes. (In the course of the struggle, that followed the Government was to request a formal apology from Rome in response to a prophetic sermon he preached in the presence of President Banzer and his Cabinet.) The Archbishop not only gave his blessing to the hunger strike but granted the women and children sanctuary in his own residence, which lies a scant 200 yards from the Presidential palace.

And so the issue was joined and the stage prepared for a long, tense, wavering confrontation between an aroused people and their Government. At first it went badly for the women. When their far-reaching program and the drastic strategy they had chosen were explained to their most natural allies, the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights, the response was negative. The assembly, formed last year by a group of individuals with the strong support of the Catholic,

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Evangelical Methodist and Lutheran churches, was dedicated to nonviolent action for human rights. But to its members it seemed that the women had not acted correctly; they should not have begun their protest without first presenting their complaints and their demands to the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of the Interior. And they had chosen the wrong time—it would be hard to get public attention during the post-Christmas and New Year's season. Above all, how could they involve their own children in a fast that might be arduous, prolonged and dangerous?

The Season for Justice

But the women had come to inform the assembly of their decision, not to ask advice. For them the Christmas season was exactly right; it celebrates the coming of the Lord of justice. They began their protest with a public reading of the Beatitudes from the Gospel of Matthew—recalling Martin Luther King's comment more than a decade ago that it was the Sermon on the Mount that moved the black people of Montgomery to organized, dignified, unyielding action for justice.

As for the children: The hunger strike began on December 28, observed throughout the Catholic world as the Feast of the Holy Innocents, the infants martyred, as Matthew tells it, by the soldiers of King Herod in his vain effort to destroy Jesus. Yes, it was dangerous for the children, but so was life without meaning or dignity. Reflecting later on this episode, I thought of the harsh obedience of Abraham as he led his son Isaac to the altar of sacrifice.

And the women were not only wise as doves but cunning as serpents. Responding on the third day of their fast to more protests about the children's fasting, they announced that the children would be allowed to eat as soon as adults came forward to take their places. Several members of the assembly then joined the strike, taking up residence together in the offices of the Catholic daily newspaper, *Presencia*. Meantime the public was being informed—there is a degree of press freedom in Bolivia and the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights includes a number of writers and others adroit in use of the media.

The strike began to grow. First dozens, then scores, then hundreds of women and men joined the hunger strike. At last more than 1,380 people were fasting—among them such a personage as Dr. Luis Adolfo Siles Salinas, a former President of Bolivia. Churches and university buildings became centers of peaceful demonstrations, not only in La Paz but in Cochabamba, Santa Cruz, Sucre, Potosi and other cities. Even outside Bolivia, in countries as distant as Mex-

ico, other groups joined the strike on behalf of the Bolivian people.

Not that response was uniformly favorable. *Presencia* itself reported the strike with sympathy; so also the country's two leading radio stations, one Baptist, the other Jesuit. But the general press downplayed the strike and portrayed it as a political maneuver. Ads began to appear signed by paramilitary organizations



deploring the Government's lack of action against the strikers, threatening to take matters into their own hands if nothing was done. These groups are known to be creatures of the Government, but their threats gave some color of legitimacy to warnings by the Minister of the Interior that he would soon have to imprison the strikers "for their own protection."

In Bolivia a hunger strike is not a novel stratagem; it has been used even by a President while in office. Yet it retains dramatic force, especially when on so large a scale and so strongly religious in character as this one. The Government could not ignore the strike, but instead of dealing directly with the strikers it went over their heads. The regime appealed to José Cardinal Maurer, Archbishop of Sucre and Roman Catholic Primate of Bolivia, presenting him with a "working document" containing a promise of "general amnesty."

Ill advised and unwary, the Cardinal gave his approval to the document, failing to observe the presence of a technically worded clause that had the effect of excluding union or political organizers from the amnesty. Despite the Cardinal's response the strikers rejected the proposal, but did soften their own demands. They agreed to drop their requests for reinstatement of unions and for removal of the army from the mines. They still insisted, however, on an unrestricted amnesty and restoration of dismissed miners to their jobs—and when the Government

would not agree the strikers went back to their original position.

Call for Observers

With the strike continuing and both sides hardening their positions, the situation was becoming extremely tense. By January 13 there were widespread rumors that government troops would soon storm the strikers' sanctuaries and carry out mass arrests. The possibility of violence on a large scale was very real. Human rights and church leaders became so alarmed that they issued formal requests to major Christian groups in the US and Europe to send official representatives to Bolivia as quickly as possible. Their mission would be to observe the situation, try to promote negotiations and inform the world community.

It was in response to these requests that Father McCoy, Sister Jo Marie and I arrived in La Paz on Sunday, January 15. The next four days were as tense and tumultuous as any I have experienced, each promising development followed by a new menace, so that our emotions rollercoasted almost continuously from hope to fear to hope again—until, on Tuesday, January 17, dawn broke at midnight.

Immediately on our arrival we plunged into a series of meetings that had been arranged for us and that continued into the week. We talked with the women strikers, with leaders of the assembly and the strike spokesperson; with church leaders, including Archbishop Manrique and Archbishop Guiseppe Laigueglia, Papal Nuncio; with US Ambassador Paul H. Boeker and members of his staff; with Jimenez Gallo, the Minister of the Interior and, perhaps most importantly, with General Banzer's closest civilian advisers: Javier Arce, who might be described as the Bolivian President's Jody Powell, and Edwin Tapia, his Hamilton Jordon. Their opposite numbers, the negotiators for the strikers, were Dr. Siles Salinas, Father Julio Tumiri and Hugo Fernandez.

The negotiating situation was clearly frozen at the time of our arrival. Some of those who had been fasting longest were becoming dangerously weak—a fact that led some Government spokespersons to accuse the other side of hoping for a “victim,” a martyr. The threat of paramilitary violence or Government action was strong. Our objectives were to advocate continued talking, to convey to each side the views of the other, to keep emphasizing humanitarian and human rights concerns—and most of all to underscore, if only by our presence and the too-impressive titles we bore, the concern of the world community. It was because of the pressures of time that all three of us came from the US, but that may have been a happy circumstance, for it became clear that the

Carter Administration's emphasis on human rights has made a strong impression in Bolivia. It was clear also that the Banzer regime cares deeply about its international image as a nation moving forward toward democratization and economic growth.

Still, after our round of meetings on Sunday the first developments on Monday were disappointing: the Government arranged for a one-day work stoppage to demonstrate the “spontaneous” support of workers for its policy. But then in the evening a Government representative met with leaders of three political parties and with the three strike representatives to consider the forging of a pact, similar to those made in Spain and Portugal, that all parties would observe in the process of democratization. The hunger strike was only one point on the agenda, but it quickly became the primary focus of discussion. At 8 p.m. the group recessed so that its members could consult their respective groups; it appeared that a breakthrough was near, and the negotiators were to reassemble at 11.

But the Government line immediately hardened; instead of resuming the talks it issued an ultimatum to the strikers. They were given until midnight to disassemble. It was no empty threat, as we observers learned when we were roused from our beds at 3:30 in the morning so that we could make our presence felt as Government soldiers entered the sanctuaries of the strikers. A Jesuit priest drove Sister Jo Marie, along with Sister Amparo Carvajal, a leader of the assembly, to the university while Father McCoy and I were taken to the offices of *Presencia*.

Entering the newspaper offices we saw the arrests being made. The strikers went limp, so that they had to be carried out. There were literally hordes of soldiers, perhaps 50 in one small room. From another part of the building we heard a shout and hurried along a corridor to find soldiers and police already at work rifling files and confiscating film. Our escort called attention to us, and we presented ourselves as

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human rights observers from the US, who would make a full report on all we saw and heard. There was a hurried conference, and the order was given to cease the attack on the files. But the strikers were gone.

Meantime Sisters Jo Marie and Amparo and their escort were able to drive to within a block of the university, then walked toward it past three armed guards. Then more soldiers and police blocked their way and forbade them to enter the university's plaza. Worse, when they turned back toward their jeep the commander called out Sister Amparo's name. Twice he ordered her to return; twice she refused. Two soldiers seized her and dragged her into an unmarked police car, refusing to permit Sister Jo Marie to go along. Nor was the jeep allowed to follow. Two other sisters and three priests also were arrested that night.

Message to the World

At this point we assembled at San Calixto, the Jesuit school. The phone lines had been cut but we were able to use the school's radio equipment to send messages to New York, Washington and Geneva, reporting the situation and asking protests by the groups we represented. Our signals got through and the protest messages began arriving. Whether because of them or for other reasons, it seemed the situation was easing when, later that Tuesday morning, Father McCoy and I met with the President's advisers, Javier Arce and Edwin Tapia. They guaranteed humane treatment of prisoners and security for those still striking; we were assured we could visit the priests and nuns arrested the previous night.

But there were conflicting signs as well. Another priest was put under arrest: Father Gregorio Iriarte, the human rights assembly's international secretary, who had initially invited us to La Paz and was our host. We could not learn where he and Sister Amparo were being held; meantime we received word that one university student had been killed, by shots apparently fired from an unmarked police car, and that five other students had been severely beaten.

It was then, Tuesday afternoon, that the power and prestige of the Catholic Church in Bolivia began coming fully into play. First, a letter from Cardinal Maurer, the Primate, co-signed by 20 other religious leaders, arrived from Sucre, clearly and strongly affirming the justice of the workers' demands and adding:

We must underline the importance of this non-violent movement that supports fundamental values for all humanity. For the first time in the history of Bolivia and perhaps of humanity we have seen the phenomenon of so many persons who sacrifice themselves in such a way in defense of

their fellow humans who are in such need of justice, liberty and employment.

The letter completely undercut the Government's

Copper Plus Tin Yields Irony

Why does the Carter Administration want to sell 45,000 tons of tin from US strategic stockpiles?

To help pay the cost of buying 270,000 tons of copper to add to the nation's strategic copper reserves, as proposed in a bill introduced by Senator Dennis DeConcini and sponsored in the House by Representative Morris Udall.

Why do Sen. DeConcini and Rep. Udall want the US to buy more copper?

To reduce a world surplus of the metal that has cut profits of domestic producers and brought unemployment in five western copper-producing states.

Why did the Administration want to please Sen. DeConcini?

To reward him for his (heavily qualified) support of the Canal Zone treaties with Panama, viewed by the President as necessary to good relations with all of Latin America.

What will be the international effect of selling tin and buying copper?

The purchase of copper will benefit Chile, and will therefore strengthen the repressive regime of General Augusto Pinochet. The sale of tin, according to *The Washington Post*, may cost Bolivia as much as \$60 million this year—or nearly twice as much as the US gives Bolivia to help it move toward restoration of civilian rule and recognition of human rights. According to the Washington Office on Latin America, this will, in effect, punish the present military regime for its recent moves toward liberalization (see accompanying article), and may bring about a return to repression.

Where did we get all that extra tin?

According to the Bolivian Minister of Mines, the US acquired it at low prices during World War II and the Korean War "as a contribution from an ally in defense of democracy."

What is the point of paying off Sen. DeConcini for his treaty vote in a way that rewards oppression and punishes progress toward human rights in Latin America?

Two reasons we can think of: (1) The Canal Zone treaties have become a make-it-or-break-it symbol of the Carter Administration's handling of foreign policy; (2) in the words of an unnamed Administration source quoted by *The Post*, "It's the old question of how many Bolivians vote in US Congressional and Presidential elections."

contention that the Cardinal's earlier statements had ranged the church on the Government's side.

Then came the blockbuster. Archbishop Manrique issued an ultimatum: Either the strike would be settled within 24 hours, beginning at midnight Tuesday, or he would place the Archdiocese of La Paz under interdict. Except for necessary care of the seriously ill and dying, there would be no religious services of any kind on Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Further, those responsible for planning and carrying out the invasion of church sanctuaries to arrest strikers were threatened with excommunication. Any solution offered by the Government must include the immediate release of arrested strikers.



For an outsider there was a kind of culture shock in the announcement, a translation in time back to the Middle Ages. But in La Paz it was a serious matter—and not only for Bolivians. A US diplomat confided that it had shaken his wife, a Catholic. To the Government as well the threat was most serious. To ignore it or defy it would unite the people behind the church and endanger the regime's international standing.

Meantime the four women who had launched this whole train of events took a hand once more. Responding to the breakdown of discussions Monday and to the massive arrests of strikers, they announced that they would henceforth abstain even from water until agreement was reached. They were already extremely weak; two days without liquids might well be fatal for them.

At midnight Tuesday, with the social fabric of Bolivia nearly at the tearing point, the Government began to give way. General Banzer appeared on television to announce an immediate and general amnesty. But still the strikers were not satisfied, for the President's promise of amnesty to "enemies of the nation" was ambiguous—it could be used to exclude any number of political or union exiles. Moreover the announcement was not clear about provisions for dismissed workers or future guarantees for those who had taken part in the strike.

On Wednesday, however, negotiations continued. Dr. Jorge Rojas Tardio, a former government minister

and close friend of key leaders on both sides (including Archbishop Manrique and Dr. Siles Salinas), offered his services as mediator. Three times during the course of the day proposals shuttled back and forth between the strikers and the Ministry of the Interior. By 8 o'clock, agreement had been reached. On behalf of the Government and the armed forces, the Minister signed an accord that provided a general amnesty for all political prisoners, exiles and refugees (an estimated 19,000 persons); reinstatement in their jobs of all miners dismissed for union or political activities, with full seniority rights; and freedom for all arrested in connection with the strike or detained because of peaceful protest. (Freedom for union activity was announced the following Saturday.)

Prisoners Released

Hours later the strikers were being released from police centers and clinics. Sister Amparo and Father Gregorio, who had been held at the Ministry, were among them. Medical doctors were circulating cautions to the strikers on how to break their fast safely. There was ample reason for the rites of thanksgiving celebrated that evening and the next day.

Why did it happen as it did? Not even a well-informed and reflective Bolivian national with access to all parties could give a complete answer; my own must be even less adequate. But there are things worth saying.

The courage and self-sacrifice of the women must be kept central. Needless to say, however, such qualities do not emerge from a historical vacuum. Political and social awareness among Bolivia's tin miners and their families goes back a long way, and we observers felt its effects in the disciplined cohesion of the movement that responded to the initiative of the women.

So also with the strong role of the churches and the unity among them. At one point in the strike some 400 delegates of the Evangelical Methodist Church meeting in national assembly voted their support of the strike, and joined with the Lutherans in backing the evangelical churches of La Paz that offered sanctuary, along with Catholic churches, for hunger strikers. It was clear to us that Bolivia's social protest movement draws much of its vitality from a solid faith that has been nurtured by biblical and liturgical themes out of the Old Testament prophets, the Magnificat, the Beatitudes and the whole life and witness of Jesus. It seemed apparent to me—and it came as joyful news—that the past decade and more of evangelization and conscientization has had effects profounder than we knew.

Because similar occasions may rise in the future it is

necessary to include a word about the effect of our own presence as observers. As outsiders we were not equipped to handle the subtleties of final arbitration. As church persons invited by church-supported human rights groups, we could not credibly claim impartiality. Yet we felt our presence was appropriate—in that we came by invitation of local human rights groups fundamentally united—and that we were able to become catalytic agents in the process of negotiation. What this told us was that “world opinion” is not a phantom reality, and that the influence of the world church community on opinion is taken seriously. This basic attitude was evident in the reception we had throughout our stay, from key Government figures and from US and UN representatives as well as from our hosts. In view of recent critiques of national and international church bodies, that is a reality that deserves recognition.

As I have already said, there are no final victories. The workers of Bolivia and their allies will need to maintain their discipline, take new risks, nurture their spirits. The rest of us must continue our support in all ways open to us. But though there is a long journey yet to be made, this one stride covered many leagues. It offers a model that can have significance in many places on earth. □

Tongsun Park Show Bombs in Capital

Kwan Ha Yim

TONGSUN PARK'S DEBUT on Capitol Hill as a star witness has failed to measure up to its advance billing. After the high expectations induced by extensive press coverage and high-level negotiations, not to mention the Congressional threat to visit upon the heads of the Korean people something akin to national extinction, all we see is a playboy back on his old playground. One inevitably senses an anti-climax. More importantly, it seems unlikely that these hearings will significantly change US-Korean relations.

The key issue on which the House Ethics Committee investigation turns is Tongsun Park's status. Was he or was he not an agent of the South Korean Government? Although this question may hold the key to the futures of individual Congressmen under the cloud, it is basically a technical and trivial point. Park's deep involvement with the South Korean Government—especially with its political arm, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency—has never been

in doubt. It was this relationship that enabled him to acquire his rice dealership, amass a fortune and use it liberally to win powerful friends in Congress for himself and President Park. His “American success story” was in fact a saga of the Korean CIA.

The stance taken by the Republic of Korea (ROK) is to attribute the current uproar to media sensationalism; once the story fades, the rift will be healed. In this President Park and his government seriously underestimate the power of an ugly image to take root in public consciousness. The linkage between Park's Blue House and the Korea lobby is well established, and the story behind it is a sordid one.

Lobbyists' Paradise

The mere fact of lobbying is not something to be sanctimonious about. Lobbying is Washington's principal industry. Given the growing interdependence of nations and the active foreign policy role Congress has assumed in recent years, it is inevitable—and not of itself improper—that foreign interests will try to exert influence on the US legislative process. Can anyone imagine that the ROK, dependent on the American connection for its very survival, could remain indifferent to neo-isolationist trends in Congress in the post-Viet Nam years?

But if many nations engage in lobbying in the halls of the US Congress they generally do so with greater circumspection and judgment. Knowing the local mores, they would avoid the appearance of outright bribery (or at least the possibility of getting caught at it). Certainly no other country would have its ambassador making rounds of Congress with stuffed envelopes, or have its intelligence agents directing bribery deals from their embassy premises. The only thing one can say in extenuation is that the Korean CIA is a creature of the American CIA, and that the latter did not expect its pupils to practice their craft in Washington, D.C.—against the US Congress!

The charge that the Koreans sought to buy influence, now well supported by the revelations of Tongsun Park's largesse, is, then, serious indeed. On the other hand, it should be remembered that “buying” implies “selling.” And those who had influence to sell were not Koreans, but Americans—influential Americans—in Congress, business, academia, journalism and even the churches. Many of them responded like a flock of birds at feeding time. What is most unsettling about this is that although the Korean agents used back-alley methods and were both crude and inept, they were nevertheless successful. This suggests an inordinate American vulnerability to the lures of money and sex. Devotion to the pursuit of happiness certainly has its seamy side.

A Pointless Exercise

One irony of the affair is that South Korea had little reason to corrupt American political processes in order to retain US support. Its military alliance with the United States was strong; it could always count on the Pentagon to endorse its requests. Economic ties multiplied, drawing the monied elites of the two nations into a close partnership. Even among the American masses there was a large reservoir of good



will, dating from Korean War days. The Americans, who had fought to save South Korea, were not ready to see it go under communist domination. With its symbolic association with the anti-communist cause the Republic was securely anchored on the conservative bedrock of American politics.

What, then, led to the lobbying scandal? It almost passes understanding that such bizarre tactics could be chosen by representatives of a society noted for its Confucian obsession with propriety. Could this be a "Korean style diplomacy" in tune with the "Korean style democracy"?

One can certainly find parallels. The main objective of the lobbying was not merely to retain the US military presence considered essential for South Korea's security but to prop up Park's increasingly shaky regime. The use of fat bribes and slim courtesans was meant to dull the sensitivities of Americans in high places to the use of censorship, torture, arbitrary arrests and executions in Seoul. Herein lies the most troubling aspect of the entire episode. One Congressional delegation after another junketed to Seoul, where they bestowed their benediction upon

Park at the height of his tyranny. Scholars and other opinion makers followed suit, and spread banalities about "South Korea's economic miracle," "the threat from the north," etc. Political corruption was nothing compared with intellectual corruption.

All of this is now history—past redemption. What Congress is doing now constitutes little more than a belated attempt to regain its respectability. It may yet succeed in demonstrating that an ultimate in cover-up is controlled exposure. It went to great lengths to force Tongsun Park out of Korea, and it is now making a strenuous effort to bring former Ambassador Kim Dong-jo to testify in spite of his diplomatic status. Congress will be able to have its way, but success is not likely to mark a victory of either reason or rectitude.

Meantime, the Congressional probe (with its attendant revelations) is not having the effect in Korea one might hope for. In the perspective of the Korean people (insofar as they have been informed), nothing their Government's agents have done compares in offensiveness with the American CIA's bugging the Presidential mansion in Seoul. They see all these things taking place in the dark labyrinths of international politics, where two wrongs, if they do not make one right, at least cancel each other out.

As it happens this is an election year in South Korea. Unless President Park steps down—a most unlikely prospect—he will be swept back to office, riding the crest of an outraged nationalism for another six-year term that will end, appropriately, in 1984. Not the least unfortunate consequence of this is that the central lesson of the Korea Lobby will go unlearned: the wining, dining and back-rolling of foreign dignitaries is no substitute for a government respectful of the rights of its own people. □

Kwan Ha Yim teaches international relations at Manhattanville College in Purchase, N.Y. Born in North Korea, he moved to South Korea with his family in 1946; he is now a United States citizen.



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Continuing the Discussion 'Toward Disengagement from South Africa'

John B. Brown and Robert McAfee Brown

TO THE EDITORS: This is in response to Robert McAfee Brown's article, "The 'Hitler Exception,'" in your issue of March 13. While I agree that South Africa's treatment of black people is wrong and should be changed, I do have some questions for the writer:

(1) Why is so much attention given to South African injustice and so little, comparatively, to Uganda, where there is not only a considerable oppression and injustice but the systematic murder of hundreds of thousands? Is not the murder of so many people even worse than the situation in South Africa?

(2) You say that the injustice in South Africa is as close to unredeemable evil as we know. But what of the systematic repression and injustice in the USSR—the imprisonment of thousands of dissidents and Christians, including the use of drugs to intimidate and destroy the minds of people? And what of the millions of people put to death in the not-so-distant past by men who are even now in power—and never any repentance? Steve Biko was put to death a short while ago and his death is rightly protested—but why do you say so little of the murders of so many Russian people, or the Czechs? Is it because it happened years ago?

(3) You urge political pressure against South Africa, and I can see your point, but why have you not urged similar pressure against Russia, or China for that matter? I do not understand the selectivity of your concern for justice.

(4) You mention the deaths of six million Jews, a fact horrible beyond imagining—but why do you not mention the deaths of millions of others through Hitler's regime—the elderly, the sick, the retarded, some Christians? Perhaps five million others.

I am honestly curious to know the answer to these questions. I am writing to you, though I could easily have written to a number of other authors and ethicists. I simply don't understand the tremendous concern for the peoples of the Third World, while in China and Russia and other communist countries many millions have been killed, still are being killed (though not so many now), imprisoned, denied basic

human rights—and yet they are hardly mentioned. I see no great series of articles and books, no wave of political pressure, no economic sanctions, and I wonder why this is.

JOHN B. BROWN
North Troy, Vt.

REPLY:

Let me first express my appreciation for the tone of your letter. Those who raise the questions you raise often do so in an atmosphere of virulence and name-calling that makes reasoned exchange impossible. You have set a different pattern.

Let me acknowledge also that your questions are legitimate ones and that some deserve more exploration than can be given here. At the same time I think it fair to say that a close re-reading of the South Africa issue will offer further answers to most of them, if not in my own article, then in other materials included there.

Without speaking for the journal or for the other authors, I will try to restate briefly why, among the world's repressive tyrannies, South Africa deserves to be singled out by Christians in the USA for special treatment.

(1) South Africa's racism is doctrinal. As Nazi Germany killed Jews solely because they were Jewish, so South Africa denies the rights of blacks solely because they are black. Further, South Africa's racism is institutionalized; the doctrine is applied with chilling consistency in every realm of life, so that if you are black in South Africa nothing about you is humanly sacred: your home, your family ties, your life. Finally, this institutionalized racism is harshly enforced by the white racial minority in its own interest. This kind of tyranny is unique in all the world; it demands a unique response.

(2) South Africa defends apartheid as an expression of biblical teaching and Christian theology. We must fiercely reject any doctrine that distorts the Gospel into a rationale for cruelty. South Africa pretends that its policy is carried out for the sake of human

decency; we have special responsibility to unmask evil when it masquerades as good.

(3) We in the United States have strong diplomatic, cultural, commercial and financial ties with South Africa. One effect of our involvement is to strengthen the South African Government and thus to strengthen apartheid; we are therefore guilty of complicity in the system. Another effect of our participation is to give us leverage. We can, by withdrawing, make it more and more costly to maintain South African racism; because we can, we should.

This point deserves further development. You may respond that the same thinking could be applied in the case of Uganda, and you may ask why white oppression of blacks is worse than black oppression of fellow blacks. The same observation has been made and the same question asked in the pages of *C&C* ("Idi Amin Is No Joke," by Jeffrey Lant, Feb. 6); we are informed that this article played some part in bringing about "Freedom for Uganda Day" in the State of Massachusetts.

But please note that with respect to many of the other countries you mention, in which large numbers of people are the victims of repression, we Americans are not guilty of complicity to quite the same degree; we do not have the same kind of leverage in those countries as is the case in our relations with South Africa. China, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union may benefit from trade with the US but they are much less dependent on it, so that cutting off commercial relations will not necessarily help the victims of repression in those countries; it may, in fact, reduce what little leverage we now have to intercede on their behalf.

(4) None of the foregoing is meant to deny your point that it is important to expose repression wherever it occurs. Violations of human rights are cruel and ugly whether committed under regimes of the right or the left; murder is murder regardless of who does it to whom; when children are starving the politics of their parents are not of the first order of concern. If these truths do not seem to be adequately reflected in this journal, that is to be regretted. (In this connection, however, see "Dissidents United in Czechoslovakia," April 18, 1977; "Thinking About Human Rights," May 16, 1977; "Golden Arches for the Shah," June 27, 1977, and the special citation presented to Soviet dissident Semyon Gluzman at *C&C*'s 35th Anniversary Dinner, published in the issue of Dec. 27, 1976.)

Hitler's Victims

(5) You are concerned because I mention the death of six million Jews but not the death of all the others

who were victims of Hitler's regime. As a Christian, I feel a particular sense of guilt about the fact that Christians remained so silent while the Hitler machine was destroying Jews with ruthless efficiency, and that Christians were frequently directly complicit in those deaths. But you are right to issue a reminder that the sick, the mentally retarded, the elderly, Jehovah's Witnesses, Gypsies and many others were also exterminated. The death of only a single person by Nazi methods of destruction would have been one death too many. The campaign against the Jews was particularly demonic, since, as so often before in their history, the Jews were singled out in deliberate official genocidal policies never before seen on such a scale in history. It is precisely because South Africa also has an *official* racist policy aimed at blacks that the reminder of the Jewish holocaust remains so crucial today.

Having responded to specific questions, let me now reflect on the broader issue of selectivity in our moral-political concerns. Realistically, in the light of the endless list of outrageous injustices going on in our world—in Chile as in Russia, in China as in Brazil, in the new black African states as in South Africa, in New York as in Mississippi—*some* kind of selectivity is unavoidable. We all have private, even unconscious, reasons for responding more strongly to one situation than to another. Insofar as my own criteria are known to me, I'll venture a word about them.

One criterion that guides me is the urgency of speaking up for peoples whose plight is little known or little understood, or whose sufferings tend to be glossed over because we ourselves derive profit from them: in this country, migrant workers, "wet-backs" and other "illegal aliens"; elsewhere, the sweatshop workers in South Korea and the Philippines, tin miners in Bolivia, black workers in South Africa, peasants and slum-dwellers throughout Latin America, many of whom are exploited for the sake of higher returns on corporate investment. The prevailing anti-communist ethos in our country ensures that the sins of the USSR, China, Russia, etc., will be well-ventilated in the public media, and it is important for some of us to try to compensate for the "selectivity" expressed elsewhere.

It is important for all of us to be more candid about the political overtones of such "selectivity." Let me use a personal illustration that may not be shared by all associated with *CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS*. I believe, partly on the basis of personal observation, that the rights of those who were previously "the poor" in Cuba are being dealt with much more creatively by the present Castro regime than they were under the previous Batista regime. All people get food, clothing, housing, jobs, education, medical care, etc.

To be sure, there are injustices in Cuba, and there are political prisoners: points I have made in print. But confronted with the choice of supporting the Castro regime in Cuba or the Pinochet regime in Chile, I do not have to pause long. Chile not only has had more political prisoners and harsher forms of political repression, but it is also a country where the poor do *not* have their basic needs met, where the very concept that people have the right to be decently fed, clothed, housed and educated is denied.

My support of the one regime and my opposition to the other means that I am inevitably making a personal political judgment from which you may want to dissent. But the making of such judgments is inescapable; there is no "neutrality," and the one who does not side with the victims supports the oppressors. So all of us will be governed in our "selectivity" in ways that reveal more fundamental criteria, and it would be dishonest to deny it. That does not mean, however, that we cannot usefully debate our judgments—particularly when, as in the case of your letter, differences of viewpoint are not turned into accusations of ignorance or malice.

ROBERT MCAFEE BROWN

Correspondence

A Hoax by Hereticus?

TO THE EDITORS: Though it darkens my spirit to say it, you, dear friends, have been flimflammed. I refer to the column by your regular contributor St. Hereticus (C&C, April 3) purporting to show that the writings attributed to "Harvey Cox" and "Andrew Greeley" are in fact produced by Martin E. Marty. On the face of it the argument seems plausible. (Speaking of faces, your cover even shows how Marty could rearrange glasses, beard and hairpiece to pose as either "Cox" or "Greeley.") St. Hereticus claims to have revealed (with the help of *The New York Times*) a "skillfully contrived net of authorial deceit." He appears to have the purest of motives.

But hold. As a Christian realist in the C&C tradition I am suspicious. Obviously you did not ask the realist's basic question, "*Cui bono?*" Who, after all, benefits by this fuss? After the net of authorial deceit has been exposed to public view, who gets the gravy?

Who else but . . . *Martin E. Marty*? Your columnist pretends to be critical of Marty. But what is he saying? Merely that Marty is perhaps the most prolific and versatile author in history. It seems, does it not, that the real truth has at last appeared.

But hold again. If "St. Hereticus" is another version of Marty, why does his column not appear in Marty's own journal? Moreover, though Marty may have a Baptist bent and Catholic concern, does it not pass the limits of credibility that this kindly Chicago churchperson could even conceive of the caustic caricatures contrived by your columnist? This net of authorial

deceit may be yet more intricate.

How to find the truth? Again, the C&C tradition may be of help. If Christian realism reminds us to look for motive, liberation theology insists that we raise our consciousness about method. St. Hereticus presents us with a hypothesis that neatly fits the facts—and points to Marty. But suppose the hypothesis is meant to keep us from seeing the facts for ourselves and thus arriving at the truth through *praxis* rather than theory?

Observe, for, example, that when St. Hereticus speaks of Marty, "Cox" and "Greeley," his use of quotation marks insidiously suggests that Marty is real and the others are not. When we push the method but one step further, by placing "Marty" in quotes as well, the real world opens to us and we see that "Marty," too is just as invention. And, further, we are led to ask: Who in the "inspirational trade" could account for the work that appears under all these names? Who has the agility, versatility, vision and sheer nervous energy demanded for such a performance?

It's obvious: No other than Robert McAfee Brown. And his motive? Clearly, to create a one-person ecumenical dialogue among Lutherans (represented by "Marty"), Baptists ("Cox"), Roman Catholics ("Greeley") and Presbyterians (himself). At last, the truth.

But hold once more. Prudence in *praxis* forbids haste. Observation demonstrates that the person publicly identified as "Robert McAfee Brown" is actually too busy engaging in ecumenical dialogue with real persons to be able to create a shadow dialogue. Moreover, whatever interstices may exist in his schedule are already filled, for this same person is regularly seen being walked by his dog.

Clearly, then, the person identified as "Robert McAfee Brown" (an obviously contrived name) is a phantom meant to confuse us. But let us keep our heads. Reviewing the situation, we now know that "Robert McAfee Brown," "Martin E. Marty," "Harvey Cox" and "Andrew Greeley" are *all* pseudonyms, *all* used by one person, *all* meant to confuse us about motive, confound us about method and discomfort us in our faith.

At last we have a clue. The singular creator of these multiple identities exists to sow doubt and encourage cacophony rather than dialogue. In the light of this author's rate of production, we know he or she cannot have time to teach, lecture, travel, engage in dialogue or walk with dogs!

Your own library, dear editors, contains the answer that fits the clue. If you will consult the dust jacket of *The Collected Writings of St. Hereticus*, you will discover that his life has "been dedicated to confusing the faith, confounding the faithful and comforting the faithless." St. Hereticus, we see, is not the inventee but the inventor. And now that we know he is "Marty," "Cox," "Greeley" and "Brown," we can begin checking on "Billy Graham," "Richard E. Neuhaus," "Elie Wiesel" and "Pope Paul VI."

If you want to discuss this further, you'll find me in the back office.

CAROL JOHNSTON

Editors' note: Carol Johnston is allegedly a student intern working for CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS.



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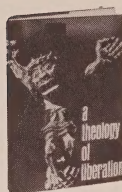
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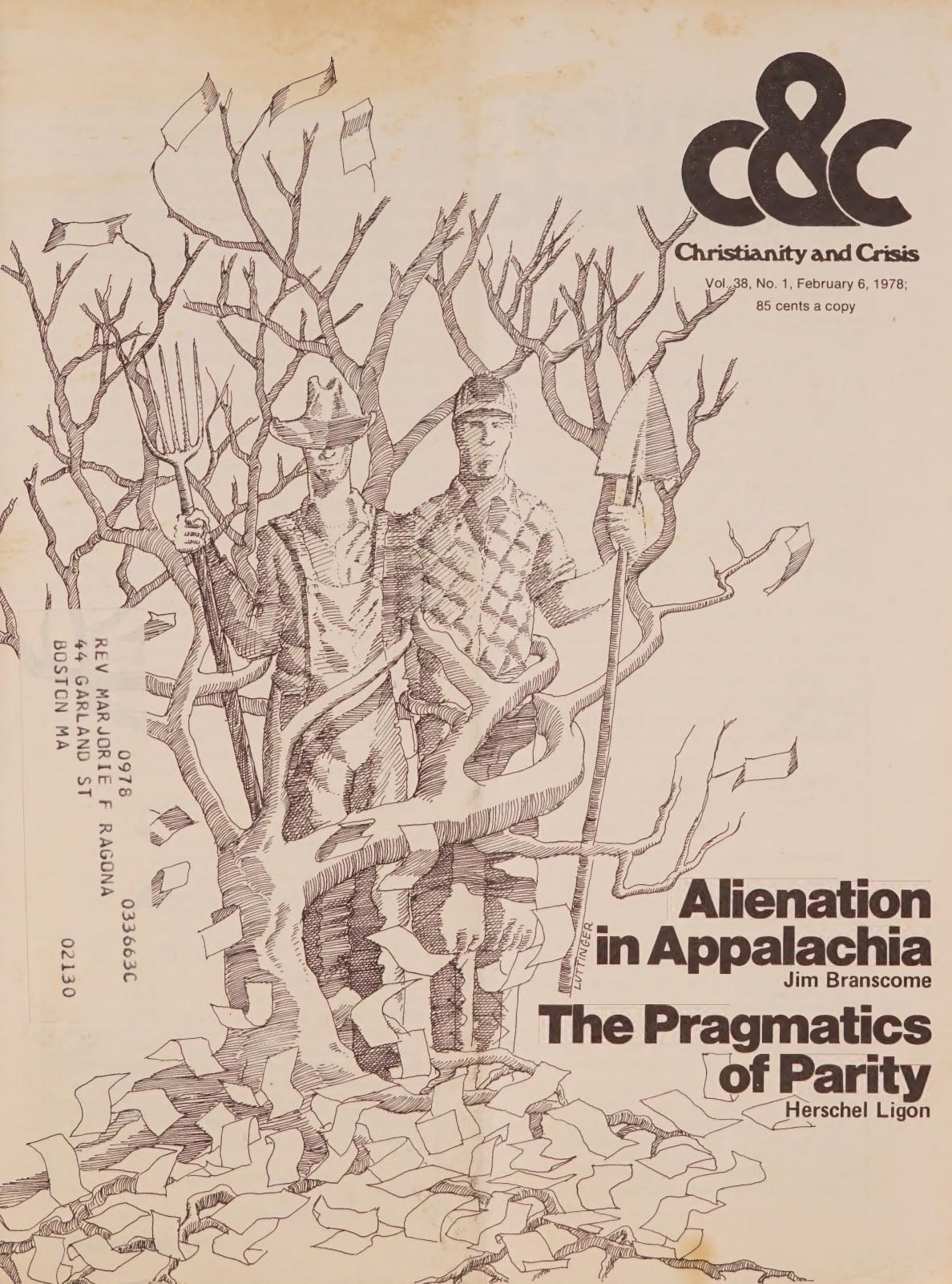
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Alienation in Appalachia

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Arming the World

Ron Freund

"This world in arms . . . is not a way of life at all, in any true sense . . . it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron."

Dwight D. Eisenhower, April, 1953

OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS a growing number of Americans have become aware that the global trade in arms is spiraling upward toward an insane infinity. During his campaign for the Presidency, Jimmy Carter condemned this growth. Citing the United States as the Number One arms merchant, Carter pledged that if elected he would "not hesitate . . . to assess unilateral reduction of arms sales."

In FY 1976, the last fiscal year of the Ford Administration, foreign military sales (FMS) reached the \$8.7 billion mark as compared to \$1 billion just six years earlier. In FY 1977, under President Carter, arms

sales will reach the \$10 billion level.

Thus far, then, Carter's performance bears no resemblance to his promise. Now Carter has invited the Soviet Union to join in discussions aimed at limiting foreign arms sales; the talks are scheduled to take place this winter. Realistically, however, it is most unlikely that any major reductions in the FMS program will take place. Why?

The FMS program serves two critical functions for American policy makers: they are strategic and economic in nature. They are worth examining in more detail:

(1) *Strategic:* The defeat of American policy in Viet Nam led to changes in foreign military strategy. One of these changes was to support key regional powers in the Third World. By greatly increasing arms sales to certain nations, such as Iran and Saudi Arabia, the United States could maintain a favorable balance of power in important regions around the world. In addition, these nations have become dependent on American arms suppliers and advisers which gives the US greater leverage to influence policy. Major arms, such as fighter planes, have a lifespan of 20 years or more during which they require maintenance and spare parts. As one Lockheed official put it, "When you buy an airplane . . . you buy a political partner."



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The FMS program also provides a critical communications link to the military elite in the Third World. Many of them received their training in the United States and developed close relationships with American military and arms industry officials. Arms sales serve as a bridge to this leadership group after they have returned to their native country. Rep. Henry Reuss (D-Wis.) issued a report pointing out that 13 military regimes have received cut-rate loans from the Treasury Department to finance the purchase of US arms.

Third, according to a study by military researcher Michael Klare, many of the arms sold under the FMS program are not for a nation's defense but are for internal security purposes. Perhaps the most controversial of such sales has been the recent deal with Iran for seven sophisticated Boeing surveillance planes called AWACS (Advanced Warning and Control Systems), at a price tag of \$170 million each. The Shah has stated that these planes will permit "increased surveillance of dissident rural areas."

Iran and other regimes receiving weaponry for internal security have generally been supportive of American policy and receptive to US investment. At the recent OPEC summit meeting Iran backed a freeze on the price of crude oil, a move strongly pushed by the United States. Several Latin American nations have received a wide variety of "crowd control" weapons ranging from helicopters to tear gas and MACE. This aid has helped stabilize a number of repressive military regimes that are providing a favorable investment climate for US manufacturing and agribusiness interests.

A Militarized Marketplace

(2) *Economic:* As spending on the Viet Nam War was reduced during the 1970's, over 500,000 jobs were lost in the defense industry. To partially counteract this development, the Nixon-Ford Administration

—Here's to the Future!—

As we review the progress of the journal for 1977, we are greatly encouraged by two special factors that combined to push us over the top and into the black: (1) The total number of contributors rose by 40 percent over 1976, and—this is the key to the future—(2) subscription income also rose by 40 percent.

The trend, it seems, is up. We find this response most encouraging and we are profoundly grateful to you.

embarked on an arms sales offensive. From 1970 to 1975, arms sales increased by an incredible 1000 percent! According to an analyst for Merrill Lynch, the nation's largest brokerage house, "There are 170,000 employees of US companies in the defense industry whose jobs are related to foreign military sales." A 1977 report by the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that more than 350,000 jobs depend on arms sales abroad.

Many companies have become increasingly dependent on the FMS program. In Fiscal 1976, the 10 largest FMS contractors received an average of 31 percent of their total Defense Department contracts from foreign arms sales. These ranged from General Electric's 18.4 percent to Northrop's 87.3 percent.

Arms sales also reduce the unit cost of production for weapons systems. In testimony before a House Committee, former Secretary of State Kissinger acknowledged that arms sales "permit our defense industries to achieve significant economies through scale of production—economies that are passed along through lower prices to our armed forces."

The Boeing AWACS planes were almost canceled because of the escalating cost. By persuading Iran to buy several of the planes, Boeing and Pentagon officials salvaged the project. Other American firms, mindful of this factor, have engaged in heavy promotion of their munitions abroad. These promotional campaigns have frequently included large bribes in order to obtain large contracts. In its 1976 stockholder report, Northrop admitted paying its sales agent in Saudi Arabia \$450,000 to bribe local military officials. Lockheed has admitted to over \$38 million in "questionable payments" to foreign government and corporate officials.

Going to the Roots

Finally, arms sales have played a significant role in improving America's increasingly precarious international financial position. The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, ironically enough, has said that arms sales are a "valuable tool for correcting a payments imbalance." In 1971, the United States suffered its first trade deficit in almost a century. Two years later, the OPEC oil cartel announced a 400 percent increase in the price of crude oil, adding to the drain on the dollar. The Pentagon urged large increases in the FMS program, arguing that the US had to "find a way to get the Arabs to spend their dollars without getting control of our economy." In two years, 1972-1974, military sales to the Persian Gulf states increased by 800 percent. This action caused a significant reduction in the American petrodollar deficit.

This brief examination of the powerful factors inhibiting arms sales reductions suggests that the bilateral US-USSR talks will almost certainly not bring about any substantive change of policy. As Carter put it in his speech on arms sales last May, "We will continue to utilize arms transfers to promote our security and the security of our close friends."

No significant reduction in arms sales will come unless and until there is a radical shift in US foreign policy. Any such shift would entail a real commitment to human rights that would require a ban on arms transactions with any of the many repressive regimes we now supply. It would call for a full recognition that the age of Pax Americana is over. It would entail gradual conversion from a military to a peace economy. Short of these changes, the "merchants of death" will continue to prosper. □

Ron Freund, a member of the faculty of Columbia College, Chicago, is Midwest Coordinator of Clergy and Laity Concerned.

Hunger and the Senate

Leon Howell

WASHINGTON—One way to handle groups within Congress that cause trouble but lack powerful constituencies is to reform them down to size.

That is what several people feel occurred when the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs was recently whittled down into a subcommittee of the Agriculture Committee.

There's irony in that. The Hunger Committee, as it was most often called, came about almost a decade ago precisely because the existing agriculture entities had ignored hunger. In the 1950s Agriculture Secretary Ezra Benson turned away requests to use food surpluses to feed hungry Americans. "We must not lose sight of the fact that the primary responsibility of the Department of Agriculture is to carry out the farm programs that benefit farmers."

Surveying the forces that created legislation to aid hunger victims, Nick Kotz wrote (in *Let Them Eat Promises*): "Created to release the food issue from the conservative antiwelfare confines of the agriculture committees, the Select Committee aimed a constant congressional spotlight at hunger."

In 1968, when the committee was formed, the United States spent \$228 million on food stamps which helped feed 2.2 million. Last year 17 million

people received food stamp aid and the Government put \$6 billion into the program. In 1968 no federally subsidized school lunch programs were available. Last year 11 million children from low-income families received lunches, two million got breakfasts.

These changes in the government's role in feeding hungry people did not come about because of the Hunger Committee alone. But under George McGovern's chairmanship and with the participation at various times of Humphrey, Kennedy, Cranston, Philip Hart, Mondale, Nelson, Percy and Dole, the committee unquestionably solidified the widespread concern for the issue that emerged in the 1960's.

The Hunger Committee has been reduced as part of an effort made last year in the Senate to cut back on the numbers of committees and subcommittees that clearly pulled the senators in too many directions. Still, of five select committees, this is the only one finally to lose out.

Some senators not known as opponents of the committee defend the action on two grounds. One, the committee has performed its primary task of illuminating the food problem and has created legislation to address it. Two, it will continue as a subcommittee with the same chairman.

A Weaker Voice

A long-time staff member who asked not to be identified feels that the move is wrong simply because of the function of the agriculture committee. "Senator (Herman) Talmadge is an excellent committee chairman. He sees his role to protect the interests of farmers. Our committee has worked on the 'ravages of hunger.' It won't get much of a hearing in a committee overwhelmed with farm legislation."

Alan Stone, staff director until the end of 1977, said in an interview that the most important positive point is that McGovern remains as chairman. "He is too identified with the issue, too compassionate, to let it be lost."

But the staff will be reduced from 18 to 5 and senators with important links to other concerns—Kennedy and health, Percy and the aging, Schweiker and health appropriations—will not be on the subcommittee.

Stone, who used his law degree for community organizing and poverty work before coming to the committee, gives high marks to the efforts of the churches and other voluntary agencies on the hunger issue. "But they need allies on the inside and I think this committee worked well with them. Now there is simply not enough staff to do that."

Where Talmadge stands is easy to determine. In the past year the committee published a set of dietary

goals for Americans that stirred a hornet's nest in the food industry. On July 26 Talmadge stated: "Can we force radical changes in agricultural production without indisputable scientific bases? The agriculture industries affected by these recommendations think not, and I'm inclined to agree with them. Our food production is too important to the US and the world for us to make unfounded statements."

After extensive hearings involving a wide cross-section of nutrition experts, the committee a year ago released a set of "Dietary Goals for the United States." It was said to be the first comprehensive statement by the government on the risks of the American diet. Introducing them, McGovern said:

The simple fact is that our diets have changed radically within the last 50 years, with great and often very harmful effects on our health. These changes represent as great a threat to public health as smoking. Too much fat, too much sugar or salt, can be and are linked directly to heart disease, cancer, obesity and stroke, among other killer diseases. In all, six of the ten leading causes of death in the United States have been linked to our diet. [The six: heart disease, cancer, cerebrovascular disease, diabetes, arteriosclerosis and cirrhosis of the liver.]

Expert witnesses had testified that improved nutrition might cut the nation's health bill by a third. Now that infectious diseases are relatively under control, not only the life expectancy but the quality of life can be improved, many feel, by a more nutritious diet.

The report called for:

(1) An increase in use of fruits, vegetables and whole grains to increase carbohydrate consumption to about 60 percent of daily caloric intake;

(2) An increase in consumption of poultry and fish and a decrease in meat to reduce overall fat consumption from about 40 to 30 percent of caloric intake.

(3) Substitution of polyunsaturated fat for saturated fat where possible and reduction of fat intake.

(4) Substitution of non-fat milk for whole milk.

(5) A decrease in cholesterol intake to about 300 mgs. a day by cutting back use of eggs, butterfat and other high-cholesterol sources.

(6) Decrease use of sugar and foods high in sugar content (pre-packaged foods and drinks among them) to reduce sugar consumption by about 40 percent.

(7) Reduction in use of salt and salty foods to cut consumption by about 50-85 percent.

Cries of Pain

And what a hue and cry did then go up across the land. The American Medical Association testified that the evidence is insufficient, "suggestive, fragmentary and even conflicting." The Salt Institute, the Interna-

tional Sugar Research Foundation, the National Canners Association and the National Dairy Council—and various experts they provided—appeared before the committee to protest the findings.

Full evidence is clearly not yet in. And the industry spokesmen are right when they point out that such diseases have complex genetic origins.

But Dr. D. M. Hegsted of Harvard's School of Public Health says the question is "not why should we change our diet but why not? What are the risks associated with eating less meat, less fat, less saturated fat, less sugar, less salt, and more fruits, vegetables, unsaturated fat and cereal products—especially whole grain cereals? There are none that can be identified and important benefits can be expected."

In a decade of activity the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs helped sharpen public and congressional perceptions of the hunger problem. It began last year—in the face of ferocious resistance—"a process," says nutritionist Philip Lee of the University of California, "that will turn the public around in terms of thinking about nutrition and health, not just hunger and poverty."

But now it resides as a much-weakened subcommittee inside a committee which sees its role to represent those interests most opposed to the recommendations for a new outlook on diet in this nation.

As one who only recently learned not to salt everything on his plate automatically, as one who only recently stopped drinking more than his share of carbonated drinks (the average American drank 295 12-ounce cans of soft drink in 1975), as one who has yet to curb his weight, I feel personally the need to have all the help we can get on eating for good health.

LEON HOWELL

Coming Soon

What is life like under apartheid? Does US money invested in South Africa undermine the system—or undergird it? How should American Christians appraise the ethics of doing business with the masters of apartheid? What policy toward the Republic will best serve the immediate and long range interests of this country?

Questions like these will be examined in a special 32-page issue of C&C to be published in mid-March (combining two March numbers). Advance orders for this authoritative, many-faceted study of a crucial foreign policy issue may be placed now at the following rates: 1-25 copies, \$1.25 per copy; 26-100 copies, 75¢; 101 or more, 60¢. Write C&C, Dept. SA, 537 W. 121st St., NYC 10027.

A Fair Deal Is a Good Deal

The Pragmatics of Parity

Herschel Ligon

I'M A FARMER. Not a play farmer. Not a doctor who lives on 40 acres far enough from the city to be out of the pollution and near enough to the hospital to make emergency calls. Not a US Senator who owns several thousand acres of land and gets paid \$147,000 not to do something he didn't intend to do anyway—produce an agricultural commodity. Not even a factory worker who lives on his Daddy's old place but makes his living at the plant in town.

I'm a real farmer. One of the very few left. A hundred and eighty-nine years ago my great-great granddaddy Cloyd came to Fort Nashborough with John Donelson. Four generations preceded me on this land. I would like to think that at least one generation will follow me here—my two sons. But I have my doubts. Both of them have college degrees from the state university in agriculture. Neither of them ever wanted to do anything but farm. But there isn't room for them now. Oh, there's room all right—but there isn't income. So what happens to young men who grew up on the land, who love it, who want to follow their daddy in the same fashion as sons of lawyers and preachers and bankers want to follow their daddies? About as close to the soil most of them can get is stamping indelible ink on the hind quarters of cold storage beef for the USDA, or buying hogs for the packing house. Occasionally one of them is extremely lucky, as one of my sons was, and can get a job operating the farm of a nearby state college.

That seems a shame. It is a shame. But it isn't the only, not even the major, shame of what this country calls its "farm problem." The real shame is that there is still a lot of productive land in this country and a lot of people left who want to raise food on it, and half the world goes to bed hungry every night—if they have a bed to go to! Why? The answer, in my judgment, is quite simple.

Income. We are just not willing to pay farmers for their labors at a rate similar to what we are willing to pay others. Income is a must with everyone. Income is nothing more than production times price. If you have 100 percent production and 50 percent price, when the

multiplying comes you have 50 percent income. No other industry in America is forced to operate that way. It *can't* operate that way and it *won't* operate that way. And no longer can the nation's agricultural industry operate that way. There are too many chickens coming home to roost, too many checks being called in.

Granted that it is all very personal with me, there are ample reasons for my concern and alarm.

First, for a nation to be strong economically it has to have new wealth. It cannot go on forever on borrowed income. The only places any nation can get new wealth are the soil, the sea and the air. US agriculture provides 71 percent of the raw material for all other industries—so farmers *must* be depended upon for 71 percent of new wealth potential.

Agriculture is the only industry that has a dollar turnover of seven to one. All others have five to one. When I spend one dollar it puts seven dollars into the economy. When I don't spend it the economy suffers a loss of seven dollars. For the past 20 years agriculture has been underpaid \$40.5 billion per year. (That is based on the parity system). ["Parity" is a *ratio* of the prices farmers receive with the prices they pay for production and living expenses, relative to a base period (1910-14, adjusted) when the prices paid and received were considered to be in an appropriate relationship.] All that would have been spent if the farmers had received it. Multiply \$40.5 billion by 20, and then multiply that by seven and you have \$5 trillion-plus that would have been poured into the nation's economy. That loss has resulted in an additional \$3.5 trillion in public and private debt.

The Real Issue

Last year the interest on public and private debts, figured at six percent, was \$210 billion. (At the same time the gross national income from agriculture, the nation's largest industry, was only \$99 billion.) Interest on debts exceeded the profits of all the nation's business. Taxpayers pay the interest on the public debt and consumers pay the interest of private debts. Every product has interest crammed into it. That is what causes inflation.

HERSHEL LIGON is president of Registered Farmers of America and works his farm near Mt. Juliet, Tennessee.

But what do all those figures have to do with the "farm problem"? A great deal. For what they mean is that this nation can no longer afford *not* to pay farmers 100 percent of parity for their production. Not for the sake of saving the one-family farms such as my own, but to save the nation's economy.

It is being argued, now that tractorcades are jamming some of the nation's interstate highways and downtown areas, that it would bankrupt the country if the government agreed to pay farmers 100 percent of parity. Quite the opposite is the case. If I received 100 percent of parity on what I produce I could, and would, spend \$100,000 immediately. And I'm a small operator. That puts \$700,000 into the economy. In addition my two sons would come home and work here, leaving their jobs to others now unemployed. I could, and would, hire two additional families to work on this farm. Just those two things would shorten the unemployment, and in some cases welfare, lines by four and possibly eight people. Those persons I employed would be paying their own way instead of being cussed for being on welfare. With 100 percent of parity farmers begin paying income taxes. At present I pay not a nickel.

Who then can argue that 100 percent of parity would bankrupt the country? Not to do so is what is going to bankrupt the country. A program of 100 percent parity would more than pay for itself in new income and we could begin operating on earned income instead of borrowed income and cut the debts—public and private. At present we're buying back our production with borrowed income, not earned income. The average American spends 41 cents of each dollar for taxes, 26 cents on interest and 20 cents for payment on the debts. That leaves him 13 cents when he goes to the food store. No one will ever convince me that that is healthy economics. And no one will ever convince me that if farmers received 100 percent of parity for what they produce that it would not go far toward correcting that situation.

Again, I emphasize that I am not pleading this case simply because I am a farmer. I am pleading it because I am an American, with concern for the total population, the body politic, and with considerable uneasiness about the way we handle our social ills. For example, we force millions of rural people into the urban ghettos where they are ill prepared to exist—and then wring our hands and pass more laws and build more prisons to control the crime rate or correct drug or welfare abuse. If farmers received 100 percent of parity for what they grow they could make a living on the land, and they would come back. And if big investors and giant corporations could no longer use the land for tax shelters and pre-paid hobbies, that land would be back on the market, and the people,

now unwelcome in the cities, could afford to buy it because they would know they could make a living on it. And have a life as well.

I would offer two final reasons why the nation can wait no longer to do what it should have done a long time ago. One has to do with expediency. The other has to do with fairness, with what is *right*.

First, if one examines the economic reports of the past six Presidents it will be seen that in the years of Harry Truman, the one President under whom we had 100 percent of parity of farm products, the nation had a more nearly balanced budget than at any time since. I believe the facts stated above explain why.

The second reason is that nature is more involved in agriculture than any other industry. Under the present system this makes for disaster. If the Lord is good to us one year and we have a good crop, the processor says, "Well, boys, there is such a surplus this year I can't give you much for your crops." No gain there. The next year the Lord is not so good to us and there isn't much to sell at any price; there is no gain again. Somehow it doesn't seem fair.

In the past few months readers of this and other journals watching the evening news have seen thousands of pick-up trucks, combines and tractors demonstrating in state capitals and in Plains, Ga. I am in complete sympathy with those demonstrations. I am no stranger to farm strikes. In fact I was sued by a well-known milk company a decade ago for (ho-ho) \$1.5 million because I was a leader in one.

Yet I didn't join the caravans this time. And for two reasons. One, the real symbol of rural and farm poverty is not the \$25-\$75,000 tractor or combine blocking an exit ramp. In fact, a fair response to a farmer leading the mechanized mule train with a \$50,000 rig might be to advise him to turn it into capital and retire. The real symbols would be the 35-year-old International Harvesters, too untrustworthy to put on the highway; the old mules such as my father has and is too sentimental to euthanize, though they haven't been productive for 10 years; the 50- and 100-acre tracts far off the established highways where hundreds of thousands of Americans still try to exist, their incomes supplemented by the equally meager earnings of the wives who work at the dress factory, or of the son who works in the strip mines knowing full well that he is helping destroy the land he loves but has no choice left—these are the symbols we need to look at.

High Risk, No Gain

The other reason I didn't join them is that farmers can't and won't strike. They can't because it is impossible for them to strike for less than a year. If

they don't plant when it's planting time they are striking for an entire year. Or an entire lifetime—because most of us could never recover. Other workers can strike for one week or one month. We can't.

The fatal trap for most farmers is not what Shirley Greene and Richard Priggie in the Oct. 31 issue of *C&C* called "The Myth of the Free Market." The fatal trap may be the myth that America is a caring nation.

A few of us have an organization we call "Registered Farmers of America." Quite simply, it advocates raising anything we wish and selling it on the free market, at prices constituting 100 percent of parity. But only *real* farmers are eligible for such payments: A registered farmer is one who makes 75 percent or more of his total income for the production or finishing of farm products. Out goes Shell Oil.

And what in the world would we do with the surplus? Our answer is as simple as the idea: FEED PEOPLE! But isn't that outright socialism? Maybe so. But not, we believe, as hazardous a brand as that practiced by the nation's airlines, trains, munitions makers and giant conglomerates who get more government subsidies in one day than welfare recipients get in a lifetime.

Finally, how can we finance such a plan? I believe I have already answered that. But even if I am in error, a program of 100 percent parity would have to be in existence a long, long time to cost taxpayers what this nation spent in carnage and pillage of one little Southeast Asian country. And we would gladly include them to be fed with what we produce.

But then, perhaps food is just not a realistic foreign policy. Maybe self-survival isn't either. □

Mine Workers Disunited

Alienation in Appalachia

Jim Branscome

HARLAN, KY.—Arnold Miller, when he was running for the presidency of the United Mine Workers in 1972, liked to say that each of the 70 breaths he took each minute into his black-lung-ravaged system reminded him of the need for leadership in the union. Progressive miners, weary of the corruption of the Tony Boyle regime, put him into office. Now it appears to them and other coalfield observers that Miller's tenure has turned the UMW into a wheezing institution that is losing the race with the coal operators.

When Miller and the rank and file reform team took over the union—a widely heralded first in American labor history—it controlled more than 70 percent of the nation's coal production. When the miners went on strike last December 6, their shutdown affected only slightly more than 50 percent of national production. After a month of striking, the only persons suffering were the miners and their families.

The minute the miners walked out, they and their families lost all the free medical care payments that have for decades been one of the most appealing benefits of union membership. Straightening up the health and retirement fund was a major plank in the promised Miller reforms—one that the union made

good for a time—but now miners and their dependents are without health care, and retirees have lost their pensions.

While the health benefits will be restored—probably not fully—in the new contract, the psychological impact of the cutoff on miners is readily apparent in every hollow here in eastern Kentucky. The pension for miners who retired before 1974 may well have to be picked up by the Federal Government under a pension reform law that will make the UMW and the coal operators the first group to dip into Federal coffers for a pension bailout.

Federal officials warn that the precarious state of the funds may bring bankruptcy to dozens of hospitals and clinics in the coalfields that were, for at least a while this decade, trying to provide the rudiments of decent health care. Doctors at the local Appalachian Regional Hospital in Harlan say miners have been deferring health care since the funds began to phase in the cutoffs last summer.

Ironically the Harlan hospital, which could not find enough doctors in the 1960s, is now turning down new physicians for lack of funds. In the sixties this coalfield was at the height of its poverty; today it is, relatively speaking, wading in wealth. But in all social indices from health care to housing, the wealth has done little to mute the drudgery traditionally associated with the coalfields.

JAMES BRANSCOME covers Appalachia for *The Mountain Eagle*, Whitesburg, Ky., and *The Washington Post*.

The fact that neither the coal boom nor a reformed union has done more than to take a few rough edges off the hellish experience of being a miner is the reason most frequently offered for why miners have been wildcating in unprecedented fashion. Since the 1974 contract, miners have wildcatted for several months over everything from safety to studded tires to textbooks. They wildcatted several weeks last summer to protest the benefit cuts that were brought on partly because they—along with inflation and the underfunded trusts—had wildcatted the funds to near bankruptcy.

The 1974 contract gave miners more than they had ever gotten in a single lump; average wages for experienced miners went to levels above the middle class average for the nation. Important safety demands were written into the contract, and a stream-lined grievance procedure was adopted. The whole package was ratified with the newly won right of the rank and file to approve contracts.

Pay Versus Risk

According to miners, it wasn't enough. The frustration of entering a mine every day knowing you may not come out; knowing if you do last for 15 years, you may be disabled by black lung or some injury; and knowing that even good wages don't guarantee good schools, decent health care, adequate recreation or housing better than a mobile home, all overshadow good contracts.

Until the reforms instituted by the Miller reformers began to become unraveled and to lose their luster, and until coal operators began to taste the sweetness of the possible demise of the union, it was reasonable to think that a four-day week or a six-hour day and a few other obvious and affordable reforms could bring peace and an acceptable level of prosperity to the coalfields. That no longer seems so certain.

Despite the emergence of some coal industry statesmen who recognize that the price of social reform in Appalachia could be a mere accounting switch that puts the tab on the nation's electric bills without affecting profits, the industry is still replete with managers who prefer to pay higher than union wages (and endure the threat of violence) so as to keep the union out. Thus, while every study shows that safer mines are cheaper, the region is now confronted with absurdity of non-UMW miners who earn \$100 a day and more—sometimes with benefits equal to the UMW's—working in unsafe mines. (The UMW wage is about \$60 a day.)

Since 1972 the UMW has spent an estimated \$5 million trying to organize eastern Kentucky. For part of that money and after the death of a striker, it won

the Brookside mine here, owned by Duke Power Co., in a celebrated strike that ended in 1974. [An early account of the issues in that strike by Tony Dunbar, "Picket Lines in Bloody Harlan," appeared in the Jan. 21, 1974 issue of *C&C*.] Nearly all the rest of the money has gone to sustain an 18-month strike at the nearby Stearns mine where Blue Diamond Coal Co. guards and the miners have frequently substituted bullets for bargaining. For a budget that the AFL-CIO used to think would organize the South, the UMW will be lucky to win 500 new members in eastern Kentucky.

In October the frustrated Stearns strikers took on the Kentucky State Police with clubs, only to land in jail with the police committed to helping Blue Diamond run coal at the Justus mine. It was the largest number of arrests in the history of Kentucky mine warfare, and the union managed only a meek protest of the police beatings after a crude video tape of the bloody scene began circulating in the coalfields.

Arnold Miller and the reform team campaigned in this mining district in 1972 armed to the teeth. They had good cause. District 19, which includes eastern Kentucky and Tennessee, had recruited the murderers of Joseph Yablonski, the insurgent who had tried previously to unseat Boyle. Now with the contract strike in full force, miners and non-union operators are again battling it out as the union members try to slow coal production. One miner has already died and dozens have been injured.

At a time when coal's prospects have never been better, when miners have never had it so good, and when there is an Administration in Washington that is not entirely in bed with the coal industry, it appears miners and the operators have never understood each other less. Ominously the union leaders in Washington appear little better prepared than the operators to understand what's happening in the region. While there were times under John L. Lewis and Tony Boyle when the union seemed to care less about what happened in the coalfields, there probably never has been a time when the union was more inept or powerless.

A Good Start

In retrospect it is doubtful that even the most experienced union leaders could have taken over the union in 1972 and initiated the revolution the coalfield agenda clearly demanded. For three uneducated coal miners who had never managed anything more complicated than a local union, Miller, Mike Trbovich and Harry Patrick did well in the beginning. In less than a year they opened up the closed union—so quickly that Cesar Chavez openly proclaimed, "Farmworkers would crawl on their hands and knees

to have a union like yours." The young staff they assembled became the envy of the entire labor movement. Their sale of Boyle's Cadillacs to coal miners made the front pages everywhere.

It did not take long for all the efforts to be overshadowed by union bickering. Boyle forces still controlled the union's executive board, and Trbovich quickly picked up on their theme that Miller's "VISTA Volunteer Staff" were Reds. The union's organizing, safety and lobbying efforts all became secondary to personality feuds. Miller had a tendency to stay away from the fray by holing up in a Charleston, W.V., motel.

By the time of the union's 1976 convention, none of the three leaders would speak to the others. Miller seemed to have interpreted democracy to mean no leadership action at all. By 1977 the three were in separate camps trying to capture the union. Miller won with a minority vote in an election in which only half of the miners turned out. Three of every five working miners voted against Miller.

Most of the young miners voted for Harry Patrick, the secretary-treasurer who challenged Miller for the top seat. That vote was significant because it portends a coalfield phenomenon that the industry and the union have barely grasped: The average age of coal miners is now just over 30. Fifteen years ago, it was nearly 50.

This sociological change is obvious any day in the coal camps of eastern Kentucky, Virginia and West Virginia. Long haired miners, their hats plastered with slogans, are everywhere. Some of them wear shirts promoting marijuana, but it is their words that clearly show there is a coalfield generation gap. Many are Viet Nam veterans determined that they will survive on this battlefield. Others are women who have sued to get jobs.

Surveys show that they are more concerned about conditions in the mines than their elders. Twenty-six percent of them live in mobile homes, while 86 percent say they want their own homes. In a region where Federal programs and banks seem determined to have no homes built, their workplace frustrations combine with their thwarted ambitions to make them a rebellious generation.

In solid union country like West Virginia, the younger generation is strongly pro-union. In eastern Kentucky and other areas where the union has a history of deserting the miners, the new generation is circumspect about joining the UMW. Thus, the union hierarchy is confronted, on the one hand, by a generation of members with which it is out of step, and on the other by non-members who regard it with suspicion.

Now that many coal corporations pay higher wages

to non-union labor, and with the UMW's benefits uncertain, there are not the compelling reasons of years past for union membership. Most young miners admit that UMW mines are safer, but if they are well paid it usually takes a mine disaster to make them consider unionizing. Since most fatal mine accidents involve only a single victim, safety issues are not always as compelling as they might seem—even though coal mining kills an average of one worker a day.

As soon as he was re-elected, Miller fired what remained of his young staff. Critical research and other negotiating functions are in the hands of consultants or inexperienced persons. During crucial negotiating periods early in the strike, Miller was back at his Charleston motel room.

Loss of Respect

At the White House, in Congress, and at the offices of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the nation's largest coal consumer, the UMW leaders are as likely to generate jokes as they are sympathy or respect. Western coal operators, who in a few years will be able to produce the lion's share of the nation's steam coal, have found the union to be a mouse. Western strip mine workers, who along with their eastern counterparts produce half the nation's coal, have shown little interest in joining a deep miners' union. They didn't blink an eye when the union dropped its support of Federal strip mine regulations to curry their favor.

Many coalfield observers are encouraged by the new breed of miners that are gaining local office in the union. It may be that Miller, now that he has a majority on the executive board, will take the reins and move ahead with the union. But that would be a surprise to almost every independent observer in the region.

Harry Patrick, the candidate who got the vote of the young miners, left the union in January hoping to land a job outside the coal mines. The same month Miller announced that he had leased a Cadillac limousine for the Washington office. Asked how a Miller limousine was different from a Boyle limousine, he mumbled something about riding to the White House with dignity.

John L. Lewis' "shock troops of American labor," their numbers reduced, their faith in their union shaken, and their opposition never better fortified, are in serious trouble. The question is not whether they will survive as a union, but what that survival will mean to the nation's coalfields. □

Idi Amin Is No Joke

Jeffrey Lant

IDI AMIN: DEATH LIGHT OF AFRICA by David Gwyn. Little, Brown (1977), 240 pp. \$8.95.

NO LESS AN AUTHORITY ON terror than Josef Stalin once said that while one death may be a tragedy, a succession of them is only a statistic.

However cynical the sentiment, what is happening today in Uganda seems to be establishing its fundamental truth. And no one grasps it better than author David Gwyn. Once a high-ranking bureaucrat in the Ugandan Government, "Gwyn" today is an exile, so haunted by fears of what could happen to his friends and former associates still there because of what he has written that he has been forced to adopt a pseudonym. He turns out to be a compelling writer of great humanity thorough and thoughtful, and his treatment of barbarism in Uganda merits the widest attention.

Whenever the world casts an eye on the circumstances of this once peaceful, verdant land, called the Switzerland of Africa, it is only to note how many more have died and in what contorted fashion; there seems little sympathy with the pain and bereavement, which are now reckoned to be fated. Worse, there seems no idea how to change things, and no great desire to try.

General Idi Amin Dada, President and dictator of Uganda since 1971, is generally perceived as a comical figure, a buffoon and oaf, a kind of official "Kingfish" positioned to make the rest of us laugh, and to fulfill a suspicion many of us have harbored that blacks are too near the neolithic, too little advanced along the Great Chain of Being, to behave in a more responsible, civilized manner.

Thus each murder, each separate brutality confirms in a way bloody but satisfactory our own prescience.

We therefore have, however subconsciously, no wish to destroy such an unexampled paragon, for if we did we would lose our finest illustration of functioning black inferiority. Which might, of course, necessitate some changes in our own domestic policies.

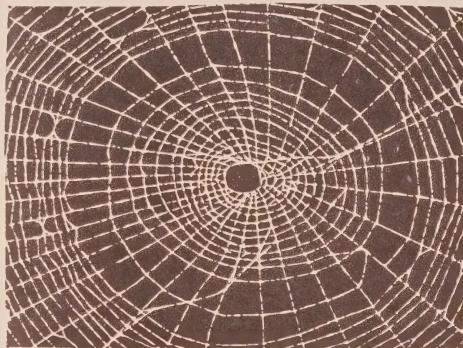
Therefore, when we hear that Amin has decimated the ranks of the Ugandan Acholi tribe, or that he has in a way utterly brutal and revolting savaged the neighboring Lango, we do not react—though if we are liberals we are rabid on the subject of bringing

freedom to Rhodesian blacks, and if we are conservatives we delight in the notion of assisting the captured nations of Eastern Europe.

No Formula to Fit

The truth is that we have no easy, knee-jerk response, no close-fitting slogan to deal with blacks menacing blacks.

One ideology or the other, then, we are no more than mildly angered and practically disinterested when the clownish Amin, sustained by illiterate squads of goons recruited from outside the country, destroys in random fashion the indigenous and practiced civil service, one third of the army, the faculty of Makerere University, the Catholic Church and then the Protestant missions, and the prosperous Asian community.



And when I say "destroy," I mean they are murdered in circumstances of wanton bloodlust, incomprehensible to us.

No wonder then that David Gwyn, himself a long time civil servant, well acquainted with the tyrant, feels frustrated at the world's apathetic response to the daily run of savagery perpetrated by the regime.

And at the world's continued dealings with it. We here still drink Uganda's coffee, buy her cotton, allow her oil and train air personnel whose job it will be to oppress the population.

Where is President Carter's vaunted human rights policy? What can it be that it allows these continued traffickings with a proven murderer?

As this forceful, bitter, moving book shows, it has not yet come to Uganda. And until it does, until there is action and not rhetoric, the death light will continue to exterminate her people, building up a legacy of hatred and revenge that will not be exhausted in our time. □

Jeffrey L. Lant teaches and serves as coordinator of student services in the Evening College at Boston College.

Correspondence

Signals from the Moon

TO THE EDITOR: "The Real Threat of the Moonies" (Nov. 14) is fine. Like Harvey Cox, I find they are not my cup of tea, ginseng or any other kind. Cox is right also about the mainline churches not having a social Gospel that is half as exciting or demanding. (The average "youth group" is about the dullerest thing I know of.) Hitler managed to grab the youth of Germany because he gave them a vision they could live and die for here and now, and the established church gave them next to nothing.

A vacuum will be filled, and perhaps we can be thankful that it is being filled with Moon's church instead of something far worse. The real Gospel is both social and political, a fact that the Moonies are calling to our attention even if we find them lacking in many other respects.

(The Rev.) MICHAEL R. BECKER
Philadelphia, Pa.

TO THE EDITOR: Cox's points are well taken. More needs to be said, however, about the sometimes crass manipulation that does in fact frequently take place when seekers are "programmed" into the Moon movement. (A good balance would be to explore the materials provided in a new item released this fall by Lutheran Campus Communications, 35 E. Wacker Dr., Room 1847, Chicago 60601. It's called "The Cults: A Resource Packet.")

Cox has pointed out some "threats" that Moon poses which we miss and ignore at our peril. But the Moonies who want me to buy their flowers in Iowa City, Cedar Rapids, Waterloo and Cedar Falls convince me that rational and emotional bondage are a real part of the package as well, a "real threat" not to be dismissed.

(The Rev.) MIKE SHERER
Washburn, Iowa

TO THE EDITOR: . . . If Harvey Cox is correct that young individuals are looking for a dream or cause for which they can sacrifice themselves, then why has the trend in higher education been for people to major in

fields of business, trades, and others which offer personal security rather than in social service fields? Only time will show how deeply the Moonies are dedicated to their social goals. It seems that in response to the Unification challenge Cox would offer his own program of political and social vision. Unless he is willing to tie his vision more closely to Christian faith than simply to base it upon "Judeo-Christian values," that vision will have the same limited life span of previous social movements.

Concerning the particularism of the Christian faith, that has been an issue since St. Paul . . . the singular insistence upon Christ alone as the revelation of God has continued to be a challenge to the world. Christian faith—in contrast to many religions—does not allow for pluralism within itself. Cox seems willing to adapt the Christian faith simply to attract new members. If this is true I submit that Cox does not understand the nature of the Christian faith.

The real threat of the Unification Church is as he states, "its claim to permit [young people] to remain Christian, but to subsume the particularity of Christianity in a larger and more comprehensive world faith." Despite its use of Christian terminology the Unification Church denies the Christian understanding of God, revelation and salvation. And so the Unification Church deceives many by allowing them to believe that they remain Christian when in fact they do not.

I would allow the criticism that Christian churches through their own inaction have encouraged the attraction the Unification Church has for people. Perhaps too often the depth of personal commitment and the radical demands of Christian faith have been passed over or brushed aside by churches. Also throughout history the Gospel's call for justice and love has been ignored by those within the Christian churches.

The response of Christianity to the challenge of the Unification Church ought to be a clarification of its beliefs and a deep rededication of faith rather than an adoption of shortsighted social visions and adaptation to religious pluralism.

(The Rev.) DONALD THURN
Carson, North Dakota

Pro-Life Hypocrisy

TO THE EDITOR: What strikes me in the ad, "A Call and a Reply" (Nov. 14 issue) is its assumption that American government has *always* had the obligation to "protect" a human fetus from "murder" by abortion, and that those who support the Supreme Court decision of 1973 are endorsing a recent deviation from that obligation.

If affording such protection to a human fetus was the purpose of the anti-abortion laws which this decision struck down, why have not the "Right-to-Lifers" stressed it? And why did not those laws place abortion in the category of homicide? And impose penalties accordingly? Intentional premeditated homicide is first-degree murder, and persons who abet are equally guilty with the one who inflicted the homicide.

This means that "Right-to-Lifers," if they believe abortion to be murder, would be asking first-degree murder penalties for all who abet an abortion In the absence of advocacy of charging willing abortion patients with first-degree murder and imposing its penalty, are they not confessing that they really are calling abortion "murder" for emotional purposes—a form of hypocrisy?

It further strikes me as odd that recently the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church have put contraception on a par with abortion in a recent pronouncement, or so it appears. This seems to indicate that they are opposing abortion, not to protect the fetus, but because it is a form of contraception! And probably because they want threat of full-term pregnancy as a deterrent to female premarital and extramarital sex relations.

MARCUS E. TABER
Hillsdale, Mich.

Sex, Science and the Church

TO THE EDITOR: The articles by Tom Driver on human sexuality and Harvey Cox on the Moonies were perceptive and fine efforts, but stirred in me a response epitomized in Brecht's line in the *Caucasian Chalk Circle*: "In a war it's always best to stay in the middle." Where were Driver and Cox during the past decade?

For 15 years the small house church to which I belong—the Sycamore Community—has been saying, praying, wheeling, leading retreats, imploring committees with the message that the church and especially its theologians must evolve a framework to accommodate the world's radically new situation vis-a-vis (1) sex and (2) science.

In 1966 we produced a book *Honest Sex*, an attempt at contemporary Christian sex ethics, which *The Christian Century* did not even dare to review. (How times have changed!) Now along comes Tom Driver, perceptive enough to see through the new revisionist Catholic document, to realize that it is still classical in its stance of somehow "tolerating" a little more sex.

Driver correctly identifies the potential of the church supporting positively—in his happy phrase—"orgasmic development." Cox—in what is the most balanced analysis of the attraction of the

Moonies—correctly sees their attempt to integrate the Christian faith with contemporary science as one prong of their three-pronged appeal to youth. This almost made me weep. Will the church now discover science?

RUSTUM ROY
State College, Pa.

Icons and Isms

TO THE EDITOR: I was put off by Robert McAfee Brown's article (Oct. 3) in which a group of Latin American workers persuade their padre that the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe is a figment of the capitalist or imperialist imagination. He seems to imply that the best Christianity can hope to offer is an economic equality; that heaven shall be nothing more than the worker's Utopia. But the point of the icon is the assurance that we may look forward to a glory beyond economic and political systems.

I do not argue from a "conservative" position; but I think that "liberal" theology must be on guard against substituting political and economic values for personal values in religion. Christianity is first of all a personal relationship with God, and then—in view of this relationship and of the societal nature of the person—an order.

DONALD NOVAK
Boston, Mass.

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The Anglican Ethos

TO THE EDITOR: A reading of "Bloodletting, Episcopal Style" (Nov. 28) indicates that Marjorie Hyer has not done her homework. The conscience statement of Presiding Bishop John M. Allin simply gave expression to Anglican ethos with roots as deep as the Elizabethan Settlement of the 16th century which rejected the exclusive claims of both Geneva and Rome.

There is no requirement of adherence to a single position on doctrinal or theological issues in the Anglican tradition. Even the present Archbishop of Canterbury and his immediate predecessor have publicly taken opposing positions on the ordination of women. The author would also probably be enlightened by the variety of opinions within the Anglican family on such subjects as the sacraments and the historic episcopacy ("apostolic succession").

No thinking Episcopalian would believe for a moment that the action of the Minneapolis Convention would create solidarity of belief or acceptance on the issue of ordination of women to the priesthood and the episcopacy. Bishop Allin's conscience statement exemplifies the valid and acceptable Anglican way, and even the occupant of his exalted office cannot be expected to assume a stance which is required of no other Episcopalian. Both the separatists, who advocate withdrawal from the Episcopal Church to form a pure church, and the pro-women's ordination group, which clamors for the Presiding Bishop's resignation, are making totalitarian demands which are alien to Anglican tradition.

In this era of polarization, many Episcopalians themselves fail to take into account the broad comprehensiveness of the Episcopal Church. But any journalist who attempts to understand and interpret Episcopalian controversy must necessarily have knowledge of this sometimes strange comprehensiveness.

No, Bishop Allin is not scattering the ninety and nine by his statement. He is simply being a good shepherd of his anguished flock in the best Anglican tradition.

C. EDWARD SHARP
New Bern, N. C.

TO THE EDITOR: Recognizing that Marjorie Hyer is expressing her interpretation of recent events in the Episcopal Church, I want to comment on two of her statements in the interest of a better understanding of these events.

First, the claim that the ordination of women was approved by a "decisive" vote at the Minneapolis convention last fall is simply not true; the shift of three clerical votes in the House of Deputies would have defeated the proposal. Further, although the bishops again supported ordination, their vote was 95/61, with two abstentions. My point here is simply that there was a real division of opinion on this issue at Minneapolis.

Second, although it is technically quite true that Bishop Allin was elected Presiding Bishop "by the margin of one vote," it is also true that he was elected on only the second ballot cast, a strong and early indication of the mind of his fellow bishops. It is usual

in Episcopal elections for a bishop to be elected by a relatively small majority, and after many ballots have been cast.

Also, I strongly question the assumption that "aged and retired bishops" who voted at Louisville were supportive of any one nominee; retired bishops are likely to hold to the diverse convictions which they have developed during their earlier years of ministry.

JOHN C. GOODBODY
Executive Council of the Episcopal Church
New York, N.Y.

Jesus in 'New Rain'

TO THE EDITOR: Many thanks for publishing Tom Driver's generous review of *New Rain: The Story of Jesus in Song*. I do have two cavils though. First, the style of *New Rain* is more folk than country-western. I love country music and at times it can become folk music. But the two are not the same. Second, what Tom Driver calls our treatment of the resurrection is actually our effort to convey the *crucifixion*. It may be harder to perceive this on record than in a live performance. But what happens is this: After a sung narrative of Jesus' last moments of freedom in Jerusalem we break into an instrumental that abounds in cacaphony and agony until its crashing end. This accords with scriptural accounts in which (almost literally) all hell breaks loose during the crucifixion. The resurrection event is purposely understated in *New Rain*, again following Biblical accounts. And as to who is risen from the dead it is neither one Jesus nor another—it is the Jesus of many facets who cannot be captured in a single song—healer, teacher, confronter, leader—all these, and more.

STEPHEN C. ROSE
Stockbridge, Mass.

South Africa's Police

TO THE EDITOR: . . . I just read most of your Dec. 12 issue of South Africa. I worked with the YWCA there for a number of years. The anonymous article was very accurate. All the windows in the YWCA Centre, Dube, Soweto have been smashed *by the police* twice in a year's time—the first time because the building had *not* been damaged by the school children's protest.

ROSALIE OAKES
New York, N.Y.

Sex in the Sky By and By

TO THE EDITOR: Tom F. Driver is to be commended for his sympathetic, compassionate, but finally critical review of the Catholic Theological Society of America book, *Human Sexuality* (Oct. 31 issue). I wish to make two comments in response.

Driver refers to the dilemma of Christianity regarding the sexuality of Jesus. How can Jesus' sexuality give positive clues for today when traditionally he has been thought of as conceived without sexual intercourse and himself a celibate for life? Driver mentions one book (William Phipps' *Was*

Jesus Married?) which challenges the typical picture of Jesus as sexless.

Another example, from contemporary British-American popular culture, is the rock opera "Jesus Christ Superstar," composed by Tim Rice and Andrew Lloyd Webber, both British, and released in the US in 1970 by Decca Records. Jesus is depicted as both sexual and vulnerable. The bond between Jesus and Mary Magdalene seems clearly one of sexual intimacy. She sings a haunting love song to and about Jesus, and she reassures him in his messianic madness when others are turning aside. I have seen neither the Broadway musical nor the movie based on the recording, so do not know whether in these performances the humanity of Jesus is confronted as directly as in the original recording...

My second comment addresses Driver's closing remarks. Having raised the problem of making the traditionally sexless Jesus a model for the sexual lives of Christians, and having marveled at the silence of Christians about orgasm, Driver suddenly proposes an "eschatological solution." To this point in his article I thought he was saying yes to bodily existence, to sexual pleasure, to finitude. But suddenly he shifts to last things, to the Christian (and Jewish) idea that in the end things will be O.K.

Doesn't Driver finally fall back into the sexual traditionalism which he wants to escape? Doesn't "eschatological solution" mean postponed gratification? Orgasm (the climactic pleasure of sexual being) can wait. Evidently, if Christian tradition is right about Jesus' celibacy, sexual fulfillment had to wait for Jesus. If he will get his in the end, so too, troubled

heart, will you. Can this be what Driver means?

Postponed gratification is the sexual theology of traditional Christianity—and of Judaism as well—indeed of the patriarchal religions of Western civilization. Postponed gratification becomes not only a method for playing down earthy passions, but also an instrument for the domination of women.

Until very recently women have been taught and have taught themselves to endure the sex act for pleasure of the male and the divinely destined purpose of procreation. Women were not expected to experience pleasure in sex (orgasm). Nowadays women are likely to insist on orgasm, and they even claim sometimes to outdo men in the capability of their experience (vaginal as well as clitoral orgasm).

But the traditional pattern has been to gratify the male, to procreate, and to postpone (or deny) the gratification of women. Thus, in Judaism, father faith to Western theistic patriarchy, the man is circumcised, thereby incorporated into the ways of his father. With his foreskin removed, his stimulation in sexual intercourse is greater and therefore his orgasm quicker. The women can wait. For what? For the coming of the Messiah; for the eschaton.

Perhaps Driver means *realized* eschatology, rather than postponed gratification. The Messiah comes when the man and woman come together: this ecstasy of integration is the Kingdom of God on earth. Shall we thus pray: Thy Kingdom come even so, Lord Jesus.

LEROY MOORE
Denver, Colorado

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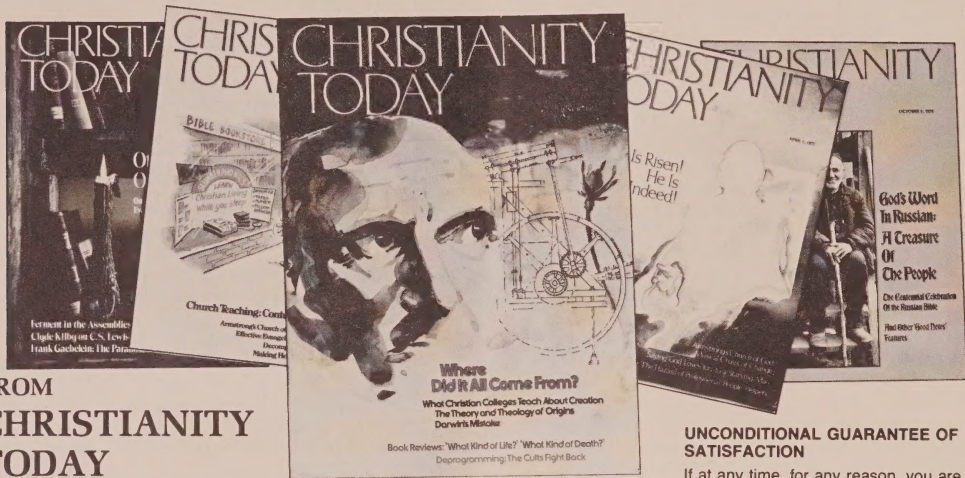
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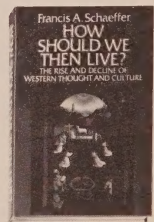
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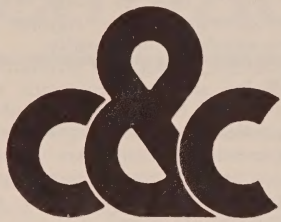
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Christianity and Crisis

Demystifying Inflation

Carl Raschke

God's People Require Liberation

Agnes Moreland Jackson

We Won't Be Duped... Again!

We believe that the open letter to President Ford regarding US intervention in Chile that appears on page 273 is an important statement of opinion regarding shameful and disturbing actions taken by the Government in the name of the American people. These actions—more broadly outlined in Gary MacEoin's article in our October 14 issue—must not be allowed to pass without significant protest by all American Christians.

Though the lying of US officials revealed here does not represent the Government's first deception of the American people in recent decades, it is probably the most blatant and disquieting. Not least because it was defended as a matter of national security, but also because it involved the active cooperation of Congressional committees of "oversight." For many years well-intentioned, liberal-minded Americans have been accused of being "duped by the Communists." Has the time not come to ask: Who, in truth, has duped the American people? Have the events of the last decade left us with any reason to believe our leaders and their deputies regarding the nation's actions in world affairs? The

time has come to call upon our national leaders for candor and to serve notice that a government that fails to treat its people openly becomes like the totalitarian regimes we abhor and less worthy of our loyalty.

Are our economic system, our standard of living and our less and less democratic way of life so constituted that we cannot abide free democratic elections that bring to power Marxist governments elsewhere? Are we willing to accept any and all forms of non-Marxist totalitarian regimes as the price of our exploitative standard of living?

Nations have often made distinctions between the Government's actions and the desires of the American people. Such distinctions have often been more apparent than real, especially when our chosen leaders have played on people's fears and misled them. We must begin to remove the scales from our eyes and ask: Are we willing to sacrifice other peoples' freedom in order to maintain a dubious standard of living and way of life, the latter of which has become a denial of the essence of our nation's founding?

WAYNE H. COWAN



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Demystifying Inflation

Carl Raschke

A CURRENT GAG, recently publicized by a Washington newspaper columnist, is that Americans ought to choose economists to tell them how to stop inflation on the same grounds that they pick preachers to speculate on the prospects of heaven or hell. The joke implies that under present circumstances economics has proved to be about as exact and reliable a science as dogmatic theology, and that its solemn forecasts are probably about as believable as those of a Puritan divine haranguing his flock on the status of their souls. Indeed President Ford's highly touted economic summit—with its gaggle of outspoken pundits, all of whom exhibited en masse as clear a consensus as a 16th century debate between Lutherans and Papists—has left the public perhaps a bit disturbed about the competence of its coterie of experts to act resolutely and forthrightly in checking rampaging prices.

The whirlwind of proposals and counterproposals, each purporting to deal with inflation most effectively, that has raged since the President first undraped his own economic "game plan" has merely deepened the general confusion and bewilderment. Spot surveys reveal by and large that the average citizen is drifting willy-nilly into the morose view that *no one*, let alone the powers that be in Washington, can do anything meaningful to halt the relentless erosion in our standard of living. A Gallup poll taken in October cited the alarming information that over half of its respondents expect a recurrence of the hard times of the 1930's within a short time. Convinced of the insuperable odds against them, typical Americans are resigning themselves bitterly to fortune. Clutching for scapegoats or comfortable explanations of their woes, they flex whatever sinews they have in demanding a bigger grubstake for themselves. "I've got mine, Jack" becomes the watchword of their struggles.

The long and seemingly interminable hyper-

trophy of stable wages and prices over the past several years, therefore, has nurtured a mentality of desperation and fatalism within the populace. Cheap political maneuvers, such as the Nixon Administration's lifting of controls on the economy right after the '72 election and an ongoing spate of pompous rhetoric combined with inept policy-making, have added their toll to the massacre of credibility.

Special interest groups, aided by their Congressional backers, have tended to exploit public disenchantment with feckless Federal programs in pursuit of their own advantage and to the detriment of the common welfare. Natural gas producers blame bureaucratic regulations for product shortages and high costs to consumers and thus, like the walrus and the carpenter in Lewis Carroll's fable, invite us all to our own butchery by slyly cajoling us into thinking we will prosper should they be allowed to remove all price restraints. Likewise George Meany and the AFL-CIO assure us that the best way to remedy the abuses of a Government incomes policy is not to have any incomes policy at all—hence creating justice for all, all members of organized labor, that is.

Naturally, everyone favors those inflation tonics that will prove painless to him/her, regardless of whether his/her boon will turn out to be another's

Progress Report #2

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CARL RASCHKE teaches religion at the University of Denver and is actively engaged in the areas of social ethics and public policy. His article "Resource Scarcity and Social Responsibility" appeared in our July 22 issue.

bane. This state of affairs was grievously evident throughout the summit hearings, where witness after witness, though not self-consciously perhaps, composed his/her own variation on the hackneyed theme from the golden age of boondoggles: "What's good for General Motors is good for the country." The same sentiment has been voiced by farmers, steel manufacturers, utility companies and bras designers.

Thus economic stresses have engendered a kind of neo-Hobbesean war of all against all *in the name of all*. The upshot is simply that the public finds itself unable to finger a single villain to account for its misery and buys into a latter-day devil theory of massive and ineliminable forces at work. TV commentators, notably David Brinkley and Eric Sevareid, remind us nightly with an air of cultured piety that "nobody" *really* has an answer to "stagflation." Mystification is the order of the day.

The Collapse of a Paradigm

The historian and philosopher of science Thomas Kuhn has described how the logic of scientific discovery proceeds in terms of a succession of "paradigms"—complex skeins of assumptions about the universe that shape not only researchers' findings but also the very questions they deem relevant to ask. According to Kuhn, "crisis" periods in the evolution of thought arise when a discrete historical paradigm gradually fails to produce new discoveries or resolve experimental dilemmas; in a word when the accumulation of evidence ultimately resists to an intractable degree the traditional methods of explanation and induction.

Such is what happened at the close of the 19th century when the time-honored paradigm of Newtonian physics could no longer give meaning to a welter of disturbing data gleaned from continuing scientific probes. In all likelihood we are now witnessing the precipitous collapse of the Keynesian paradigm in economics (possibly one should say the paradigm of "Keynesian" policy-makers in Government), along with the venerable social and political nostrums it has institutionalized since World War II.

As is true of the breakdown period in all conceptual paradigms, however, even the shrewdest and most highly respected of our national leaders show themselves unwilling to take radical leave of their cherished premises. Instead of opting for innovative and more fruitful perspectives from which to analyze our social ills, they find it quite a bit more comfortable, if not obviously more expe-

dient, to sit still and wait for counsel from ancient oracles—even when these oracles have fallen silent.

America, with its heritage of conservative pragmatism, has rarely rushed headlong toward accepting new models for construing social and economic reality. Although the so-called "hundred days" and the era of vast reform that Roosevelt inaugurated in the 1930's are often taken as major turning points in the Federal Government's role in the management of capitalism and the business cycle, the *structural* changes undertaken by the New Deal were more apparent than real. Keynesians sought only to secure more inclusive strategies for preserving "free enterprise." They merely encouraged more sophisticated tinkering with, that is, "fine tuning" of, the same old apparatus. Therefore, the paradigm of classical political economy did not undergo as profound a revaluation and criticism as liberal historians are wont to presume.

By the same token many of today's "progressive" politicians have held out cures for our plight that are conspicuously atavistic, that still command credence within an outworn paradigm despite their occasionally Jacobin flavor. Politicians from the Democratic Party have suddenly rallied in the past year under the banner of a new populism and stimulating competition within the marketplace.

No historical hindsight need confound them, however, with the knowledge that a profusion of smaller entrepreneurs—as in the ideal phase of economic development prior to the emergence of the modern corporate state—can in itself lead to dislocations and injustices. The would-be utopia of independent shopkeepers and merchants vying for their respective shares of the trade was in the past as given to overproduction and business slumps as are the existing industrial conglomerates apt to support overconsumption and price-fixing. The growth of monopolies and cartels during the previous decades are only excrescences on a fatally flawed system involving the uses of private capital.

Interdependence vs. Self-Interest

Regrettably, the roots of the new inflationary syndrome may lie in the structural weakness of modern democracy itself, or at least in that form of democracy which has accompanied the triumph of the technocratic society. Oscar Wilde once defined democracy sarcastically as "the bludgeoning of the people by the people for the people." As John Kenneth Galbraith has decried repeatedly for years now, the policies of our economic headmen—which are ostensibly devised for the benefit of millions

of little men and women—have invariably succumbed to the selfish ploys of whichever special interests control the White House or the legislature.

"The people" in the democratic credo of the new industrial state thus becomes a euphemism for the lobbyists. Federal Energy Administration regulations, tailored to conserve fuel and to distribute equitably the sacrifices of austerity, serve mainly to widen loopholes for the oil companies, as the recent scandal over "double dipping" disclosed. *The Wall Street Journal* not long ago revealed that even among the Congressional advocates of the post-Watergate "new morality," the habit of voting for bills favorable to organizations making heavy campaign contributions (mentioned among others were the maritime unions) has not disappeared. The ideology of an unmanaged economy thus acts as a convenient subterfuge for retaining the privileges and de facto powers of the stronger, or more militant, pressure groups.

No longer do we live in Thomas Jefferson's world of yeoman farmers and families of craftsmen, where most economic activity was conducted within self-sufficient units. "Interdependence" may have passed from an arcane term in social ecology to a recurrent cliché, but it throws into relief the genuine relationships between producers and consumers. The devastating repercussions of strikes in modern heavy industry, such as coal, food and automobiles, underscore the necessary but fragile links among all participants in the economic process. The very fact that nowadays depressions or changes in one economic sector have sharp "ripple" effects elsewhere also testifies to this condition. In a web of interdependent economic and social agents, the absence of effective controls leads to distortions in the flow of goods and services.

At the same time the persistence of an *ethos* among people governed by such relationships that enshrines the right of every individual to grab his/her own windfall becomes intolerable. The political philosopher Hannah Arendt noted some years back that the actual vision of the Western democratic person does not center on the high-minded principles of liberty, equality and fraternity but rather on the mythical symbol of Eldorado, the fabled city of gold that lies open with its bounty of riches for the common person to come and take. So long as this vision informs the values of those who possess the means or desire to slash the arteries of society's lifeblood (and in our own highly integrated economic order there are fewer and fewer persons on whom the weal or woe of someone else does not hang), the chances for exploitation will burgeon.

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Inflation has become a vicious symptom of the dearth of social responsibility among employers and employees alike. An incident, reported on a television newscast during a strike of Teamsters against several Denver supermarket chains in early October illustrates this sad fact. An elderly lady was overheard berating some union pickets in front of a Safeway store for demanding wage boosts averaging up to 60 percent over three years, a rate well above any previous or expected pace of inflation. The woman was complaining that a settlement on the pickets' terms would mean she would sooner or later have to pay even more exorbitant prices for the meager groceries she could afford out of her social security check.

One picket, a young man in his 30's, brusquely dismissed her plea as "something for the supermarket bigwigs to worry about." Despite the chain store's official stance that the union demands were unwarranted and that it would never accede to them because that would push shelf prices too far upward, the final contract offered the Teamsters came close to what the strikers wanted. The supermarkets blamed the union for "intransigence," lamented the hardships worked on everyone by inflation, and have now begun to preserve their comfortable profit margins by raising prices.

The Myth of the Market Mechanism

The Keynesian economic model, like classical doctrine, predominantly assumes that self-interest will supply the equilibrating mechanism in the play of supply and demand on people's habits of spending and saving. While the Government is supposed to furnish the incentive for consumer buying or for capital investment through fiscal and monetary measures, the success of the central agency's efforts depends on the expectation that every performer in the economic free-for-all will behave "rationally" in moving to maximize all possible gains and to cover his/her losses. Businesspeople will typically react to steeper interest rates by cutting expansion of their facilities. Workers faced with the threat of layoffs will moderate wage bids. And all this jockeying to expand personal advantage under external duress will bring the ratio of input to output of all reciprocal transactions back into balance again. Adam Smith's spectre of the "invisible hand" stays alive and well in Keynesianism.

In truth self-interest cannot necessarily be downgraded in assessing the ways by which patterns of economic behavior and relationships are maintained today. Modern bourgeois social and economic "sci-

ence" has constructed its schemes of interpretation and prediction on the basis of certain consistent modes of interaction between self-seeking individuals or corporations that have exhibited a remarkable staying power throughout a series of crises.

But what is now coming into question in light of the current muddle of traditional theories and prescriptions is precisely the hallowed supposition that the play of self-interest in the marketplace actually leads to a harmony of singular claims and the greatest happiness for the greatest number, so to speak. The interventionist strategies of liberal economic planning since the Great Depression have not touched the trend toward greater concentration of wealth in the lap of elite groups. The fact that each inflationary period seems to require a heavier dose of unemployment to curtail price explosions suggests how economic power has gradually accrued to a smaller, but more influential, segment of the population. Since it is well-nigh impossible to guarantee an actual state of pure competition (even with government regulation) where all economic contestants are on an equal footing with each other, the imperative to self-interest—together with the pluralist political belief that the best way to assure justice is to aid each distressed or deprived party in its quest for security—avails mainly to enhance or create privileges for selected kinds of individuals.

Those with decisive advantages, such as monopolistic utility companies, pad their advantages further. Instead of reducing capital spending as they are supposed to do when loan funds are tight, the utilities in recent months have borrowed more and hiked prices to defray the higher interest charges. At the same time the larger unions have forced fatter paychecks, even with mounting unemployment, because the benefits of greater incomes for the majority of their members outweigh the handicap of lost jobs for the unfortunate few.

The voiceless and unorganized elements of society, particularly the elderly, constantly suffer for the triumphs of the stronger interests. Letting somebody else "worry about" the baleful consequences of self-serving policies among management and labor becomes the principal moral maxim implicit in all traditional economic goals. For many, however, this value perspective has hardened into an iron law of human intercourse.

To this date most panaceas for inflation entail the perpetuation of the ongoing war between interest groups. Politicians agitate for lower food prices—but only if this does not block increased incomes for farmers, abrogate the right of fertilizer manu-

facturers to get a good return or undermine the prospect of natural gas producers receiving a better deal on their product. In view of the complexion of a Congress embracing a broad gamut of interests rivaling each other to manipulate passage of legislation, few positive (let alone radical) initiatives can be anticipated from Capitol Hill. (On the other hand, President Ford's call for a unified attack at the grass roots level on inflation is perhaps a more realistic agenda, in spite of its naive voluntarism, paternalism and its discernible tilt towards the needs of the business sector. It is refreshing, in one sense, to hear the oratory of mobilization and cooperation in place of the fulsome noise of scapegoating.)

Morality and Economics

No lasting achievements toward demystifying inflation are likely to be carried through unless a revolution in fundamental values and social expectations emerges. Reigning economic theory has betrayed something of its inability to analyze current problems free of subjective variables or purely cultural considerations through minting the phrase "inflationary psychology." Indeed so much of the

failure of the economy to respond properly to orthodox therapy may well stem from deeply embedded psychological factors, not the least of which consists in the spreading feeling that the only way to beat the runaway cost of living is to stay discreetly ahead of everybody else.

Such psychology, however, sheds light not so much on the ineluctable laws of market operations (it is highly dubious whether there really is anything left at all of the paradigmatic "market" that the Oval Office has religiously trusted to brake inflation) as a desperate cynicism and uncertainty over the viability of the existing system. The leaps and tumbles of the stock market, reacting less to prudent foresight than to wildly alternating moods of confidence and despair, give hint of the irrational edges around the crisis. The incalculable behavior of those directing the economy contributes to the sentiment that occult forces are in control.

A French Marxist doing research on American economic life remarked to me several years ago that he had never encountered such a people as us, who feel so utterly powerless to pilot our own social affairs. De Tocqueville offered a similar observation in the last century when he reflected that the genius of democracy is paradoxically its pitfall too:

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that our peculiar obsession with "going it alone," with preferring the completely individual course of action in dealing with massive social challenges, leads to a paralysis both of the creative spirit and of constructive collective undertakings.

Instead of adopting a view of the whole of things or assenting to comprehensive strategies, strategies which may in part weaken our own advantages, we acknowledge only that path which will yield us immediate personal dividends. Thus teachers agitate for more aid to education as the summum bonum for meeting the slump in enrollments and the deterioration of classroom instruction; dairymen jockey for heftier price supports rather than seeking reform of the cost-pricing structure in their industry; brokers encourage investors to rush into commodity speculation as a hedge against the slackness of the stock market, even if that advice merely abets the surge in prices for food and raw materials; media advertising constantly entices us with money-making schemes, frequently at the expense of the less fortunate or less shrewd, for profiting from the crisis. The result, of course, is that nobody wins in the long run.

If, to return to the original point, economics wanders into the same camp as theology, perhaps we all might do well to take theologians a little more seriously in bearding the mystery of inflation. After all, it is theologians who can remind us of our excessive self-indulgence, of our sinfulness and pride, of our anxiety and avarice, of our lack of neighborly outreach. If it is indeed the case that our inflationary miasma has materialized as much out of corruption of basic values and patterns of moral conduct as from Government mismanagement, then a hardnosed stance toward improving the tangible conditions of life ultimately rides on a transformation of hearts and minds. Certainly this approach has been the secret of success in some socialist countries, particularly China, where the formation of a "new person" shriven of selfish drives in keeping with Maoist pedagogy has risen as the cornerstone of "scientific" economic planning.

None, of course, ought now suggest that the unsparring tactics of Communist behavior control and "thought criticism" must comprise the necessary first steps in altering the ethical disposition of the American people. The democratic heritage of this country can be the source of its redemption as well as its downfall. It may well be that we are, as President Ford has proclaimed, a "moral people" with all the right fundamental instincts. The tragedy of the past, however, is that we have failed to grasp the vital connection between morality and politics, and economics too, for that matter. It is likely that we will never draw this connection.

If this becomes the case, we will never understand the depths of our latest malaise, the atrophy of our national conscience. We will look instead to facile solutions and false prophets to promise an unattainable promised land of bloated affluence. We will let inflation ruin us without realizing that

it is "us" in the collective sense that exists as the root and remedy for the tribulations of the future.

The Contours of a New Paradigm

By the same token amidst the broadening confusion over how to right the rudder of national economic programs and priorities may appear the contours of a new conceptual paradigm. While it is not our business here to piece together a comprehensive new set of principles of interpretation and rules of prediction, it is yet fair to say that any reorientation toward our economic dilemma must be anchored in the following considerations:

(1) Economic behavior in the society of the near future must not be charted solely along the lines of what C. B. MacPherson calls the "theory of possessive individualism"—a prevailing ideology in the era of capitalism going back to Hobbes and Locke, which takes as its fundamental axiom the right of private agents to acquire and retain maximum rewards from their own labor or property.

Traditional economic theory has subtly transposed a normative view of justice in the interests of the entrepreneurial and privileged classes into an alleged *description* of economic activity that is supposed to be universally valid. William Simon, for example, constantly delivers speeches to the effect that the pursuit of sizable profits by corporations is intrinsically "necessary" to the maintenance of general affluence. Thus corporate greed is mysteriously alchemized into a corollary to the unbending laws of supply and demand.

A new paradigm, on the other hand, must recognize the legitimate claims of all persons in society, which at the same time places boundaries on how far or to what end wealth is obtained. The model of possessive individualism must give way to an organic picture of all elements in society working together for the common good.

(2) Similarly, a new paradigm adequate to the postcapitalist and *postinflation* order must rid itself of the pretense of being unconcerned with ethical questions. Up until now "rational" economic dealings have been thought to consist in the balancing out of different self-interests because the precept of personal gain has dominated all other value assumptions in our culture. A new paradigm must allow for modified criteria of "rationality"—specifically for attaching economic importance to the humane virtues of sharing and self-sacrifice for the sake of public well-being, not simply as vehicles of deferred gratification necessary under capitalism for the promotion of investment and savings.

(3) Finally, such a paradigm must look to the role of government as a guarantor of social equity instead of merely a stave for a faltering free enterprise system. Government must *enforce* the values of reciprocal assistance and mutual accountability. Wage and price stabilization programs are thus destined to replace the market mechanism as the fulcrum for government handling of the economy. This is because the regulation of exchange values for both the consumption and production of goods

and services is the only means to assure equity in a skewed network of economic power relationships. The cavil over the tendency of wage and price controls to dampen incentive to production and hence create shortages ignores the entire problem of distributive justice by focusing exclusively on the challenge of increasing raw output. The uncritical maxim of enlarging total wealth indefinitely thereby overshadows the aim of realizing a fair allocation of available resources among all citizens.

A new paradigm, however, must shift the reference point for both theory and practice from rationalizing existing media of exploitation to *humanizing* the economic order altogether. Central administration of economic affairs will, in consequence, be seen as an indispensable means to accomplish this objective, for the danger of bureaucratic inefficiency or autocratic control will become

far less imminent than the tyranny of special interests in an unmanaged market.

In sum the task of demystifying inflation requires a desanctification of the corrupt sources of economic might in our society along with the pallid theories that make a moribund system cosmetically appealing. In the same breath such a task demands a revived appreciation of the prophetic moral heritage of Western humanity. The suggestion of a new economic paradigm derived not from positivism, mechanism and social atomism, but rather from the categorical norms of justice for the poor, disenfranchised and oppressed is not wholly novel. John Ruskin, in the 19th century, wrote: "Government and cooperation are in all things the law of life; anarchy and competition the laws of death." And he added, "there is no wealth but life." □

God's People Require Liberation

Agnes Moreland Jackson

Author's Preface: Except for a profound analysis by Rosemary Ruether of the interrelatedness in the United States of racism, sexism and class ("Crisis in Sex and Race: Black Theology vs. Feminist Theology," April 15 issue), most discussions of both women's liberation and feminist theology have considered as parallel the injustices perpetrated by US society against Blacks and women. Moreover, white women active in the women's liberation struggle have been puzzled and sometimes hurt by the relative inactivity of Black women in that struggle as popularly understood and as waged by the National Organization for Women, for example. The following remarks (here expanded slightly) were shared in a session of the Women and Religion group at the October 1974 annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Washington, D.C., in response to the generously broad invitation to speak on some aspect(s) of Black women vis-à-vis the church, white feminism or racism.

IN THE U.S. Blacks and females among *God's People* are struggling for liberation from denials and oppression older than the nation and stemming from evils as old as the world. For Black women the liberation struggles are two—to be free from both racism and sexism; but in striving to eradicate racism we are often out of step with white women

whose primary battle is against sexism. Toward the goal of expanded understanding by all concerned parties, I call attention to several focal points important to our consideration of the struggles for racial and sexual liberation. Hopefully, these brief references might generate extended discussions precluded by time restriction on this presentation.

Focal point number one is the sexual revolution sparked by our new freedom from biological destiny. What concerns me especially is that the freedom suggests—at least as much as a decrease—the escalation of the reciprocal exploitation that much sexual union was before "the pill." Sex without fear leads to *availability* as the primary criterion of a woman's and a man's worth to each other, and to a definition of "manhood" by the criterion of sexual athleticism.

Tangentially related and perhaps caused by the social isolation of Black women on white college campuses across the country is an ironic occurrence among some Black college youth, an occurrence that I call the romanticizing of fecundity. Now freed by "the pill" from "unwanted" pregnancies—pregnancies that used to elicit the truism, "Black girls get babies; white girls get abortions"—Black students from freshman to senior level (many on scholarships) are conceiving, sometimes getting abortions, but often continuing their school work during full-term pregnancies while seeming to carry themselves like fertility goddesses, and giving birth to their children as "more fighters for the revolution."

Notwithstanding their probable exploitation by the militant or cool, brainy or intellectually mar-

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ginal, committed or "jive," aware or unhip, Black "brothers" who father their children, these young women achieve motherhood as a symbol and a source of power. And they are supported socially and psychologically by the most vocal of their peers—both male and female—as if *being a mother* (or, perhaps, daring to become one) exceeds in value any degree of discipline or discretion, propriety or responsibility, self-respect or respect for parents. Apparently not thought of before the adventures in parturition are such unrevolutionary realities as adequate food and housing and health care for themselves and their offspring, child care while mothers work (few of these young women would go on welfare without first trying to support themselves), and incalculable losses in certain kinds of development because of the new responsibilities.

Not new to my observation but interesting in contrast to their Black counterparts, many white college women (some of whom do conceive and have abortions but—apparently—fewer of whom allow their babies to be born) celebrate *in talk* their release from sexual tyranny while perpetuating themselves as sexual objects by their come-hither attire and gestures. I have noted also that when in the company of both Black women and men, some white women seem to "go crazy" trying to be especially appealing to the men while engaging in conversation with both.

While *not* attributing motive, I am still struck, for example, by one woman's behavior last summer at an elegant reception where my husband and I were the only Blacks and she an apparent relative-in-law of the honoree. Attractive, 24, blonde, a vegetarian, liberated—so much we learned from observation and conversation—she sat opposite my husband during our conversation and seemed deliberately to spread her thighs and legs to expose the crotch of her white panties. More damaging to folk more vulnerable than my husband to "Miss White Crotch" was the behavior a few years ago of a white female dean of students who hosted a party for Black women students but had as guests also several of her interracially married friends—white wives, Black husbands. As she explained, the party was supposed to help the students feel "more comfortable."

In ways difficult to specify but related to sexual matters such as these, Black women recognize that our best interests are not served by many aspects of the current sexual revolution or, by extension, "women's liberation" as we perceive its espousal by middle-class white women.

Spiritual and Relational Freedom

Focal point number two. Without romanticizing suffering, I suggest that survival of oppression cultivates in some folk the capacity for self-actualization. Having had to work always, Black women know the relationship between effort and accomplishment. Hence, *work as creation* and *as self-control* are the results of *work designed* to demean us,

to teach us our "proper" places.

Operating as an unanalyzable force of the spirit—a soul force, as it were, that is independent of social criteria—is a complex of attitudes toward self and life that Black women seem to have more abundantly than either Black men or white people. The ingredients of this complex include self-acceptance and openness to one's own feelings; caring—genuine regard for *persons* irrespective of their material, aesthetic or intellectual qualities; daring to be different if such satisfies the criterion of caring—for self as well as others; and recognizing what is truly helpful in contrast to the superficially appealing.

The parallel of this complex in a *very few* Black men is a refusal to define themselves by the "American" overvaluation of *maleness*: maleness as virility, maleness as harshness, maleness as tenacity, maleness as success, as wealth, as status, as power—maleness as God. Instead, these Black men face themselves honestly to see strength and weakness, to consider failure along with success. They try to fulfill their true selves by pursuing goals in the light of their abilities and desires; they refuse to ride up (or be defeated by) the escalator of material success to the exclusion of satisfying their human needs.

In day-to-day relationships doing what *they* like, not what others want them to do, is another significant trait. Moreover, they don't need to have white women as proof of sexual prowess, and they aren't devastated before their Black women on the occasions when they "can't get it up"—because they know they are not sexual athletes and that balls are more than what hang between their legs. These Black men are among the *few nonsexist* men in the US.

Appealing blatantly to "male chauvinist pigs," however, are those white women who seemingly assume that they are especially desirable and deserving of favor, which could and probably does lead to the assumption that others exist to be their servants. Many Black women, by contrast, seem to have a great desire and an inherent capacity to make others feel comfortable. I suggest that beyond its probable relationship to our history, this "servant class" behavior might reflect a dimension of spiritual and relational freedom and a capacity to love *unattainable* except through our harsh experience.

Focal point number three. Consider Black males whom the 1960's "caught" with white wives, especially those marriages of five or more years. "Black Power" confronted Black-white marriages at the keystones of their existences: *self-knowledge*. A white-wed Black man *just* discovering himself in that era was under many pressures—or, perhaps, just one: to "prove" his "Blackness." This could be done many ways—too frequently by rhetorical extravagancies and posturing, often by actual deeds and an unquestionable commitment in service to Black people, including academic and political activities.

However he might have responded to the times,

a socially aware, stylishly aggressive Black man in many cities found job opportunities and adulation unprecedented in our history. Who could have resisted getting rid of *anything* or *anyone* who might have impeded one's progress toward acclaim and long-overdue respectable earnings? Many probably did, but history has proved that some Black men put personal and political gain ahead of their own and their white wives' personhood, suggesting strongly that they would be poor risks for Black women whose *humanity supersedes politics* and mechanistic implementation of "Black power." One of my dearest friends killed herself rather than be abandoned by her handsome, brilliant, newly degreed, much-in-demand, professionally powerful Black husband (and father to their children) of about 20 years. Because I still weep over her death and its causes, I know that sisterhood can transcend race and that race can be made a perversion of love.

But I must not be distracted by personal grief from other important points. *Number four.* To Blacks in the US almost *all white people* everywhere contribute to racism, and white women have had special roles, despite their unwillingness to come to terms with their complicity in horror. Black women, however, have to know and act in the light of the truth that racism is rampant in our society, including the women's liberation movement. Therefore, the eradication of racism takes priority over our participation in the movement. We Black women must still help to create a society in which *adult black males* will *not* be thought of or treated as *boys*.

Labor and Personhood

Focal point number five is our concern for ourselves in the labor market, where we are frequently abused by low salaries, few or no fringe benefits, little job security, few opportunities for advancement, and many other conditions arising out of the relationship between capitalism and racism. But white women should understand that we are not focusing on "female stereotypes" as secretaries and other office workers. Still too sharply imaged in this nation's eyes are Black women as maids, laundry workers, mummies for white babies, greasy spoon waitresses—although there are many exceptions. Of those Black women whose talents, training and potential fit them for administrative jobs in business, we will continue to be supportive.

Millions of us, however, want the opportunity to occupy some of those secretarial chairs, switchboard seats and receptionists' offices that "liberated" white women are vacating. Occupationally speaking, it has taken Black women a long time to get up off our *knees* and onto our *backsides*. And some of us wish we had now or had had some time and situations earlier in which to be bored "just keeping house." We have often—usually—been out of the house plowing fields, sometimes without mules, chopping cotton and working alongside our men on many other jobs that only *white* males would do if

they worked. In white people's houses, for generations down to the present, we have cooked, cleaned, wet-nursed, washed and ironed, sewn, and given many fortunes' worth of psychological counseling to our bored mistresses.

Focal point number six is related to our being denied equity in the labor market. Blacks have had less opportunity than whites to become corrupted by a materialistic, status-symbol culture that often defines *human* worth in terms of employment function. We Blacks would have been devastated at home had our concepts about self-worth and worth of family members been shaped and symbolized by the glorification of material goods made available by earnings at fancy jobs. Our parents in menial jobs were always our *respected* mothers and fathers who, together with extended family members, helped us to learn that dignity and worth derive not from things but from spiritual fiber, from responding appropriately to the heart's needs, from caring about the persons to be served as well as the kind of service to be rendered.

Sex-role distinctions among many Blacks have had to be blurred—or never emerged clearly—in the interest of accomplishing the work needed by the family. Our fathers and mothers "went to the field." Boys and girls sharecropped or helped cultivate the family's land. Boys and girls cared for livestock. In the towns couples would "hire on" as maids and butlers but would perform together *all* the work—cooking, laundering, repairing, baby-tending, gardening, etc.

A humorous but remarkably incisive cultural criticism on this and other aspects of our racist society is Richard Wright's short story "Man of All Work." It tells of an unemployed Black man who dons his ill wife's clothing and answers an ad for a maid and cook, only to be shot as a result of resisting sexual advances by the white male employer—advances all-too-familiar to millions of Black women house servants. Lucille Clifton's untitled poem refutes forever any stigma associated with a man's—an older brother's—assuming full household responsibility for a parentless family, and the poem makes irrelevant any concern with the subject's sexual predilection: [Both Lucille Clifton poems that appear in this article are from *Good News About the Earth*, copyright © 1970, 1971, 1972 by Lucille Clifton, reprinted by permission of Random House Inc. and Curtis, Brown Ltd.]

Richard Penniman
when his Mama and Daddy died
put on an apron and long pants
and raised up twelve brothers and sisters.
When a whitey asked one of his brothers one time
is Little Richard a man (or what?)
he replied in perfect understanding
you bet your faggot ass
he is
you bet your dying ass (p. 7).

Freedom: Personhood in Community

Focal point number seven identifies the spiritual resources of Black people whose responses to the Old and New Testaments reflect enlarged capacities to fight racists and racism without losing our own or dismissing the little-evident humanity of our oppressors. In both a light and a serious passage, Vry of Margaret Walker's novel *Jubilee* rejects hatred as un-Godlike and self-destructive. She makes her son laugh with the following analysis of the effects of hatred and love: [Both passages from *Jubilee* are reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.]

Keeping hatred inside makes you git mean and evil inside. We supposen to love everybody like God loves us. And when you forgives you feels sorry for the one what hurt you, you returns love for hate, and good for evil. And that stretches your heart and makes you bigger inside with a bigger heart so's you can love everybody when your heart is big enough. Your chest gets broad like this, and you can lick the world with a loving heart! Now when you hates you shrinks up inside and gets littler and you squeezes your heart tight and you stays so mad with peoples you feels sick all the time like you needs the doctor. Folks with a loving heart don't never need no doctor (Bantam edition, p. 383).

To her husbands (the first, long thought to be dead, has returned temporarily) who recoil at the sight of scars on her often-lashed back when she was a slave, she says:

I wants you to bear me witness and God knows I tells the truth, I couldn't tell you the name of the man what whipped me, and if I could it wouldn't make no difference. I honestly believes that if airy one of them peoples what treated me like dirt when I was a slave would come to my door in the morning hungry, I would feed em. God knows I ain't got no hate in my heart for nobody. If I is and doesn't know it, I prays to God to take it out. I ain't got no time to be hating. I believes in God and I believes in trying to love and help everybody, and I knows that humble is the way. I doesn't care what you calls me, that's my doctrine and I'm gwine preach it to my childrens, every living one I got or ever hopes to have (Bantam edition, p. 406).

In a vastly different idiom but of the tradition of the Spirituals and the Bible reflected in Vry's speech, young Black college women have talked to me about prayer, faith and forgiveness, notwithstanding their stances of rebellion against racism and their capacity to name white oppressors in vividly vituperative terms. Both Vry and my young Black sisters have roots that go back to the slaves' having understood and accepted their *creatural humanity under God, through Jesus*—not under the slaveholders or their overseers.

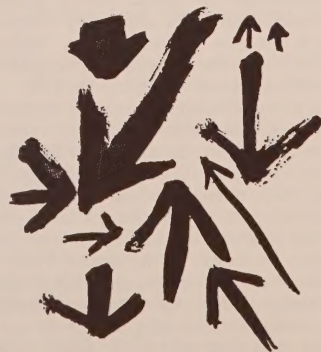
Focal point number eight suggests the relationship between our spiritual resources and our possi-

ble capacity to survive the battles for sexual and racial liberation. The Black man who would degrade his Black woman cannot pretend forever that he doesn't share her heritage of love. As lay persons, albeit God's people, we have various unanalyzable methodologies for confronting, understanding and transforming ugly truths into hope and possibility for beauty in the future. It seems to be that most of our strategies are informed and nourished by our having defied intention and shaped a living, personal religion out of the slave-espousing version of Christianity that we were first exposed to.

Moreover, I see *personhood in community* as the key to freedom. The discarding of shackles and the affirmation of self and people cannot mean also the enslavement or denial of others—even our former oppressors. Within our Black communities the denial of personhood to women or to men would be the denial of peoplehood. Among white people the women cannot free themselves from sexist assaults by developing a hatred for, or the capacity to ignore or dismiss the humanity of, men. In the wide world white people cannot be expected to be believed in their clamor for freedom and liberation so long as they define as an assault on themselves the forced removal of their feet from the necks of nonwhite peoples. For that change from oppression is "good news about the earth," in the words of Lucille Clifton's unsentimental poem about some long-overdue changes:

*the bodies broken on
the Trail of Tears
and the bodies melted
in Middle Passage
are married to rock and
ocean by now
and the mountains crumbling on
white men
the waters pulling white men down
sing for red dust and black clay
good news about the earth (p. 12).*

Surely, white women and Black women can rejoice in this "good news," as we cultivate intra- and intergroup capacities to affirm our total selves and to encourage all men and all people to be non-racist and nonsexist. *God's people* require liberation. □



A Thanksgiving Proposal

Kenneth Sehested

The following proposal is a confessional statement that C&C's student intern Ken Sehested presented to his congregation, Manhattan Baptist Church, for consideration. Despite its specific content, we feel that our readers will find his reflections and considerations compelling—particularly at this time of increasing crisis—in their application to the celebration of Christian holidays.

FOR THE PAST FEW YEARS I have been upset with the idea of contemporary Thanksgiving celebrations. Increasingly I have become conscious of my world, slowly untangling myself from the obsessive otherworldliness of heretical Christianity; persistently weakening the choke-hold of the pathological reality principle of our society that equates consumption with health and well-being; progressively coming to grips with my own unconscious preconceptions concerning the amount of "goods" and "products" I felt were "necessary." I am now entering that stage of consciousness which I experience as shock at perceiving the radical poverty of most of the world, even an increasingly significant minority of Americans.

I would like to suggest that instead of celebrating Thanksgiving this year in the traditional way, we be ironic: Instead of enacting a service of thankfulness and gratitude for God's unending blessings, let us bear witness to the shamefulness of our wealth, which we parade in the presence of the poor and the disinherited; instead of eating ourselves into obesity and subtly congratulating ourselves on being God's elect nation, let us give voice and flesh to the message of God's judgment of the wicked through fasting and a service of mourning.

Let me draw out my suggestion in specific terms: (1) that the Saturday before our Thanksgiving service on Sunday, November 24, be declared a day of fasting. Let all who wish to share in this witness eat nothing, so that it be a hungry people who gather for worship on Sunday; (2) let our service be one of repentance and mourning, with our real hunger identifying (at least for a day) ourselves with the oppressed people of our city, nation and world; (3) let us then break the fast after the service with a simple meal of fruit, bread, cheese and wine shared together. Then our prayers of thankfulness may truly be heard; (4) to add concreteness to this act we should collect the money

that would ordinarily have been spent on bounteous food and give it to the West Side Community Alliance, whose work in our neighborhood and whose need were vividly portrayed to us last week. By so doing these things we may corporately reject the sentiment that America's wealth is necessarily the result of its faithfulness to God, declaring instead that it is more likely the result of its greed and oppression.

By saying this we do not categorically imply that our sinfulness and injustice stem unambiguously from a diabolical intentionality. That which we declare is that the question of good intention lapses into insignificance when faced with the facts.

In so saying neither do we wish simply to flagellate ourselves into a kind of fashionable despair and paralysis. Our despair is real, but so is our collective memory. We recall our hope in Jahweh God whose subtle purposes are being worked out amidst the obvious calamity. We betray the masquerade of death in the posture of life; we attest to the course of life flowing even from the grave. We are present in the world, listening with our eyes, touching with our ears, seeing with our hands. We declare God's presence in the shadows; the Spirit appears when it is not expected. □

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT ON CHILE

MR. PRESIDENT: While grateful to you for publicly admitting the role the CIA played in "destabilizing" the Allende Government in Chile, we are dismayed at your attempted defense of such interventions. Seldom have there been events so blatantly incompatible with the ideals we hold as Americans and as Christians.

As members of 15 distinct Protestant and Roman Catholic missionary groups who work in Third World countries, we see such interventions as immoral and indefensible.

You tried to justify the US intervention in Chile by saying that Communist nations do the same. We flatly reject using the immorality of others as justification of our own actions. Are we to imitate the very evil which we claim to be opposing?

You also implied that the CIA was merely defending democracy in Chile by supporting opposition press and political parties, and this was "in the best interests of the people of Chile." Aside from the arrogance of such a claim, we find your statements far short of the truth. CIA funds were allocated to bribe the Chilean Congress, to support

national strikes and to foment civil disorders that precipitated the coup. Furthermore, where is the CIA support for freedom of the press and democratic parties in Chile now that they have indeed been suppressed?

Contrary to what you would have us believe, CIA covert actions in the Third World frequently support undemocratic governments which trample on the rights of their own people. We missionaries have felt firsthand the effects of such interventions, which are certainly not in "the best interest" of the majority of the citizens of those countries. US interventions serve the interests of their wealthy minorities and are—as our critics often say—instruments of American economic domination.

Nor do such actions, which are prohibited by international law and by Article 6 of our own Constitution, serve "our best interests" as you stated. Gangster methods undermine world order and promote widespread hatred of the United States. Watergate has shown that such methods, once accepted, will eventually be turned against our own citizens.

In view of these facts we hereby dissociate ourselves from our Government's use of the CIA to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries. We further demand: a disclosure of the CIA's past and present covert actions, the termination of all future CIA covert actions and the prosecution of any who may have perjured themselves regarding CIA activities.

We will support Congressional and other responsible efforts to achieve these goals.

Signed by: TERESITA AUSTIN, S.C., Mission Coordinator, Sisters of Charity, Mt. St. Vincent. JOHN BUTEYN, Secretary for World Ministries, The Reformed Church in America. MADELINE CONWAY, S.N.D., Mission Coordinator, School Sisters of Notre Dame, Wilton Province. WILLIAM J. DAVIS, S.J., National Director, Jesuit Social Ministries. BETTY ANN MAHEU, M.M., Member of Central Governing Board, Maryknoll Sisters. WILLIAM MCINTYRE, M.M., Secretary General, Maryknoll Fathers. LOIS MILLER, Associate General Secretary, World Division of the Board of Global Ministries, The United Methodist Church. MILTON J. OLSON, Secretary for Latin America, Division for World Mission and Ecumenism, The Lutheran Church in America. HUGH O'ROURKE, S.S.C., Director, Co-

lumban Fathers USA. MARY REYNOLD, O.P. Secretary General, Dominican Sisters, Sparkill. GEORGE TELFORD, Corporate Witness and Public Affairs, General Executive Board, The Presbyterian Church US. WILLIAM NOTTINGHAM, Executive Secretary, Department of Latin America and the Caribbean, The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). JANET WAHL, R.S.M., Mission Coordinator, Sisters of Mercy, Rochester. WILLIAM L. WIPFLER, Latin America Working Group, National Council of Churches. JAMES ZELINSKI, O.F.M. Cap, Provincial Councilor, St. Joseph Province of Capuchin Fathers. BENJAMIN GUTIERREZ, Liaison with Latin American and the Caribbean of the Program Agency, United Presbyterian Church in the USA.

Correspondence

TO THE EDITOR: Robert McAfee Brown takes President Ford to task for the pardon he granted Nixon ("Viewpoint: Mr. Ford's 'Act of Conscience,'" Sept. 30 issue). At the beginning he criticizes Ford on theological grounds. In this field Brown is a great scholar; I am a layman only. But Ford also has never held himself out as a theologian. In his speeches and appearances he presented himself as a simple, straightforward person who took his strength from the Christian faith. He contrasted well with all the "acting" we had been forced to see. To me and to many other people Ford sounded convincing.

Ford did not say that by failing to show mercy he would forfeit salvation. Rather he indicated that his conscience would make him feel unworthy of mercy. Brown may feel differently if he believes he acts in harmony with the will of God when he mercilessly criticizes Ford. In condemning him on purely secular grounds, he does not even mention the fortitude he has shown in granting clemency to the Viet Nam objectors . . . Brown's assertion that Ford has extended Watergate for an indefinite time is bold and unproved. His legalistic reasoning—and here he is a layman—is faulty. It is untrue that the fairness of a trial can be weighed only after it has been held. Every venieman who has been influenced by obtaining substantial knowledge of the case is ineligible, and every city where the extensive dealing of the press and the media may have created bias is an improper place for the trial. Would we have picked those who neither read nor listen for the jury and have transferred the trial to the moon?

Ford's understanding of justice is in harmony with this undefinable conception that has deep roots in man's conscience and faith. Brown remains in the purely procedural field, without any regard for such substantive questions as how heavily Nixon has been punished by the ordeal of impeachment, the condemnation by his friends and the fall from the highest tower on earth. Brown's equalitarianism is pedantic and amazingly lacking in spiritual contemplation.

Brown blames Ford for having acted on an "un-

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informed conscience." But does Brown appear to be informed of the condition of our country? He fails entirely to show that the prosecution of Nixon is of such importance that it should supersede our vital national interests of stopping inflation and recession, achieving independence concerning fuel for ourselves and our allies, coping with the flood of petrodollars that spells disaster for the world economy, creating peace in the Middle East, reestablishing cooperation among the industrial powers with regard to international trade and currency problems and the fate of the underdeveloped world. . . .

It is the belief of this nation that the creators of our Constitution acted with deliberation and wisdom. They counterbalanced all the powers they granted to the President by approval requirements or by subjecting him to the scrutiny of the courts—except the power to grant pardon. Doesn't that prove that they wanted this power to be controlled by the conscience of the President and nobody else?

If Niebuhr's authority is invoked, we should remember he was always in fear that our nation would be destroyed by pride and self-righteousness. Ford humbly listens to others; Brown's viewpoint is bristling with pride. As a spiritual leader he should not use harsh language, exaggeration and suspicion for the purpose of absolute condemnation but be more skeptical of the crowd's and his own motives. As he stands in print, no grace or charity can be found in his attitude.

Consulting Niebuhr I find in *Moral Man and Immoral Society* a passage that seems to visualize both Robert McAfee Brown and Gerald Ford: "Any justice which is only justice soon degenerates into something less than justice. It must be saved by something less which is more than justice. The realistic wisdom of the statesman is reduced to foolishness if it is not under the influence of the foolishness of the moral seer."

And in his sermon on I Corinthians 13, quoting Pascal: Christian faith takes all the dimensions of life into consideration, "not only the dignity of man but the misery of man." In the Ford-Nixon relationship both were present.

JOSEPH KASKELL
New York, N. Y.

TO THE EDITOR: Some response to the articles in your September 16 issue "On the Philadelphia Ordinations" seems necessary. My suspicion is that I am not alone in calling to your attention the complete one-sidedness of your reporting.

You claim that the issues that focus in this discussion go beyond any single denomination's experience. With this I concur heartily, but I am mystified at the exclusion of some of the most significant issues from your reporting. Basically, of course, the world sees this event as a blow for or against the rights of women, but to the Episcopal Church there is a more primary issue unreported by you. That issue is no less than "law and order" within the affairs of men.

As pointed out by several Episcopal Church leaders (cf. Bishop Albert W. Hillestad's Pastoral Letter of August 6; articles in *The Christian Challenge*, October 1974), the ordination of any persons, male or female, without proper consents and sponsorships by the constituted authorities is improper, uncanonical and invalid. So the Episcopal Church is dealing with a premeditated act of "ecclesiastical" disobedience.

The comparison with the events of Watergate and the Nixon Administration is impossible to ignore. Despite Mr. Stringfellow's protestations that the House of Bishops has no legal jurisdiction, these are certainly the leaders upon whom the rest of three million Episcopalians look for guidance. It would be strange for them to remain silent. As strange perhaps as the "cover-up" alleged of our former national chief executive.

My request is that you use your journal to report "the other side" of the Philadelphia ordinations question. Certainly the writings of three non-vested bishops who perpetrated the disobedience, one of the supposed ordinands (the Rev. Ms. Heywood), the lawyer of the disobedient bishops (Mr. Stringfellow) and the *Plumbline* article written by three priests identified with the radical left in their campus activities (the Rev. Messrs. Coats, Jones and Lloyd) joined by Ms. Chris Beals does not constitute both sides of the issue.

I am certain that you have the right to your opinion on the matters involved, but to indicate that you are presenting issues for discussion and then to bring forward only one side of the issue by your selection of articles seem to me to be editorially unfair to your readers.

(THE REV.) CARL E. GIEGLER
Mattoon, Ill.

TO THE EDITOR: Regretfully I must take issue with Robert McAfee Brown's editorial ("Viewpoint: Mr. Ford's 'Act of Conscience,'" Sept. 30 issue). . . . Actually I do not disagree with his basic premise; I too am barbarian enough to join the crowd shouting "Crucify!" if only to postpone a decision until all the ghosts of Watergate can be laid to rest. The pardon was a premature action.

But both his theology and his semantics seem questionable. He tries to make mercy and justice mean the same thing. They are not the same. . . . From all I have heard and observed Mr. Ford acted in what he conscientiously conceived to be a merciful Christian spirit. Like most people who try to live according to the Gospel, he got into hot water. But I distinctly remember a passage from Romans 12 which says something like this: "Beloved, never avenge yourselves, but leave it to the wrath of God; for it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord.'" No, if your enemy has covered up the Watergate affair, pardon him, for in so doing "you will heap coals of fire on his head. Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good."

• ALBERT P. STAUDERMAN
Philadelphia, Pa.

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Christianity and Crisis

**Rosemary Ruether on
Working Women
and the Male Workday**

**Frederick A.O. Schwarz Jr.
Intelligence Activities
and the Rights of Americans**

**Robert McAfee Brown on The Carter "pardon"
Leon Howell on Waiting for Carter
Robert A. Pugsley on January 17, 1977**

Good and Bad News

The Carter "Pardon"

First the good news. The good news is that a number of Viet Nam War resisters, whose only "crime" was to have opposed the war before it was popular to do so, are now free to come home from abroad, or surface from the underground, without having to pay any further penalties. (The penalties they have already paid, in social ostracism, harassment, denial of job opportunities, etc., are overwhelming.) I am glad for this, and I salute the resolution with which Jimmy Carter carried through on his campaign promise about war resisters on his very first day in public office.

The President's action is an auspicious symbol that he has begun his Presidential career with an act that while it initially alienates a rather raucous segment of his constituency, will in the long run have deep-seated healing benefits. Philip Hart's widow had given Mr. Ford an unexpected chance to do the same thing in a high-mannered way just before leaving office. He waffled, floundered and finally failed to respond to the challenge. That Mr. Carter immediately moved on the matter, without external prompting, is perhaps an indication of the measure of difference not only between the two men, but between the tone of the two administrations they represent. Let us hope so.

Next the bad news. The bad news, of course, is that the "pardon" does not go nearly far enough. "Pardon" itself does not go far enough, and the difference between "pardon" and "amnesty" is not a mere semantic quibble. "Pardon" assumes wrongdoing that will be overlooked despite its moral inadequacy. Those who resisted the war quite properly resist the notion that they must be "pardoned." If there are any who need "pardon," it is those who prosecuted and supported a war now increasingly acknowledged to have been not only ill-conceived but immoral.

The issue now is not so much assigning guilt or degrees of guilt but putting that kind of question behind us, of engaging in an act of "forgetting"—not forgetting the war or the lessons we must learn from it, but forgetting the kinds of charges that were brought

against those who resisted ongoing participation in the war. They deserve to have their own slates wiped clean, so that their lives will not be further warped by the harsh judgments their Government made about them before it itself finally heard their message and "got out of Viet Nam."

This concern brings us to the heart of the limitation of the Carter action. It repairs past injustice against only a handful of those who need to be given a fresh start. For the Carter "pardon" does not take account of individuals whose opposition to the war began *after* they were in the armed forces. The beneficiaries are only a small minority of war protesters—chiefly upper-class, highly intelligent, white males whose educational opportunities were such that they were alerted early on to the moral ambiguities of our Viet Nam involvement.

But 10 or 20 times their number were already in the armed forces before they were exposed to those same moral ambiguities. Such persons, by and large, had not had the luxury of reflection about the legality or morality of the war. The latter group includes many young males from the ghettos, often members of minority groups and other underprivileged people who as a consequence of their military experiences came to feel that the war was wrong. They were often confused by what they found in Viet Nam or in the Army and often reacted in confused ways. But they, too, deserve a fresh start, for they are among the real victims. The present Carter "pardon" discriminates against them in such a way as to imply that we recognize only the legitimacy of protest by upper-middle-class, white males.

The only equitable way to redress these imbalances is to grant full amnesty to *all* those convicted of service-connected actions that led to less-than-honorable discharges. This does not constitute special-handling for "peaceniks"; it constitutes an evenhanded recognition that our nation messed up the lives of hundreds of thousands of its youth, and that it must, however tardily, make what small amends it can.

Once again the good news. The good news is that while the present "pardon" falls far short, the Carter Administration has not closed the book on the matter, as did its predecessor. Further consideration will be given to the plight of army "deserters." The state of the question is still fluid. Those concerned about full amnesty must therefore redouble their efforts to see that justice is finally extended across the board to all. Mr. Carter claims that he wants to hear from the people, and that he wants to govern on the basis of moral principle. The question of full amnesty is a question around which the sincerity of that double claim can be tested.

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

Christianity and Crisis

Toward New Solutions Working Women and the Male Workday

Rosemary Ruether

ONE ESSENTIAL ELEMENT in the feminist struggle for equality is the demand for equal work roles, equal opportunities on the job, equal pay for equal work. This demand encounters great resistance from both employers and male labor leaders in part because of cultural prejudices about the male's higher prestige. Women are treated as a surplus labor force, to be drawn upon when the need for labor is expanding or in wartime. They are structured into different supportive roles, such as typing, for male executives—roles that fall at a markedly lower level of prestige and pay. They are hired and fired with much less job protection. And throughout it all the myth is preserved that “all” women belong at home as wives and mothers and work only for “extras.” Above all, women should not compete with men for the same jobs and pay.

All this is well documented by feminist analysis. What seems to me not yet adequately treated is the component of this pattern that is systemic to the very organization of work and that cannot be solved by attacking cultural stereotypes alone. Or rather, the cultural stereotypes are the ideological superstructure of a certain economic system and cannot be changed without reorganizing that system.

One problem with women's demand for equal pay for equal work is that it generally continues to presuppose the male workday, which was shaped during the period of industrialization when work became disassociated from family-run shops and farms. Men and women in the preindustrial family could share work to a greater extent because the means of production were owned by and located near to the home. Industrialization took the means of production out from primary communities into collectivized systems owned by the capitalist. Women progressively lost their role in productive labor, and male and female roles were defined in mutually

exclusive patterns that separated work and home to a much greater extent than had previously been the case.

Despite the numbers of poorer women who also worked in factories, productive work—which took people to a distant place for the daylight hours of each workday—began to be defined as belonging exclusively to men. Women were segregated into child-raising, consumer management and housework. Male and female functions were seen as the opposite halves of a complementary system that allowed neither sex to participate very much in the sphere of the other.

The man's workday was organized on the presupposition that he had a wife who performed all auxiliary functions for him, thereby freeing him for exclusive attention to the “job.” It was also assumed that one salary was sufficient for the corporate unit of husband, wife and children. Successful male prowess on the job meant a sufficient income to send the wife home to be full-time housewife. The man whose wife “had to go out to work” because of financial need was humiliated.

Great contradictions arise when women try to integrate themselves into a work world organized on these assumptions. Having no wives, women must try to do two jobs at once, to be in two places at once, to the detriment of both. If they aspire to a real “career” in competitive professional employment, they conclude that they better not marry or at least better not have children.

Women who don't want to make these sacrifices try to change the home pattern by insisting on sharing domestic work with their husbands. But this effort encounters constant resistance from a work pattern that says a man should not have to work “all day” and then come home to make his own bed, shop for or cook his own meals, wash his own dishes or change a baby's diaper. I believe that this pattern cannot be changed very much simply by power and cultural struggles on the domestic front. For the presupposition of this resistance to shared housework is still the male workday.

ROSEMARY RUETHER, a Contributing Editor, is Georgia Harkness Professor of Applied Theology at Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary in Evanston, Ill. She is also the author of *New Woman/New Earth* (Seabury).

The Relation of Salary to Family

Feminism must reckon explicitly with the corporate purpose of the salary, which relates salary to the support not just of an isolated individual, but of family units of dependent persons who are not salaried. Women's demand for equal pay for equal work generally ignores this purpose and treats the salary individualistically; each person is said to be entitled to the same pay level for the same work regardless of the living unit that is to be supported or the salary's relation to other incomes.

It is understandable that feminists don't want to raise the potential conflict between individualistic and corporate ways of looking at work-income. For the corporate relation of income to family is usually used against women; it is said that women's work is a "second income"; that, therefore, women don't need the same pay; that they should take second place in employment, etc.

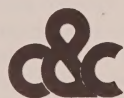
Feminists answer that many working women are unmarried or are single-parent heads of households. However, the fact that many working women are in this situation doesn't change the reality that most working women do belong to two-income households. It is precisely this latter kind of family that must be

analyzed in terms of its overall socioeconomic effects.

The relation of salary to family is crucial to the resistance to equal pay for women. An unwillingness to see that some families have dual incomes while others suffer male unemployment is a key element to the constant defeat of women in the capitalist job market. When women seek equal pay and job opportunities without seeking also to change the workday and the social function of income, several things tend to happen. A token number of elite women become display cases of equal employment in various professions. They are able to compete on the job by having few or no children and/or the money to pay others for household work and child care. (Despite the reactionary way this argument is usually used, we can't ignore the fact that this also may mean withdrawing the contributions of the most skilled elements in society from the socialization of the next generation.)

Since now the economy is not increasing its job opportunities fast enough to supply jobs for all who want them, the struggle for equal job opportunities is going on at the same time that men, both workers and professionals, are experiencing rising unemployment. Expanding opportunities for women are, therefore, obtained in direct competition with men.

In some cases this may mean that white middle-



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class women are pushing black and brown men out of work. Just as the older women's movement of the early 20th century tended to ignore its class context and so allowed itself to be used to increase the political power of the WASP ruling class through the franchise (while disenfranchising blacks), so there is some danger that the women's movement of today may



become a means of extending the income of the white middle-class family through the double income while lower-class brown and black families suffer 30 percent unemployment.

Employment for women purchased at the expense of unemployment for men in the *same* class level also tends to bring about a reaction. It is again asserted that one income is sufficient for one family and that men have the prior right to the job. Thus women's gains in employment remain token: flashy appearances of exemplary individuals in various professions. But for most women the use of females as surplus and marginal labor, last hired and first fired, continues.

Attacking the Wrong End of the Stick

One key to unlocking this dilemma is to recognize explicitly the systemic relations of home and work and to devise a means of adjusting *both sides* of this equation. We need to change a pattern of complementary and mutually exclusive roles of work and home to one of shared work for both men and women on both sides of the home-work split.

The tendency of both feminism and socialism in response to the dilemma of work is to attack "the nuclear family" as the root of the problem. This approach suggests that it is not the "nuclearness" of the family that is the problem—i.e., the fact that it has been stripped of its larger support systems by industrialization—but somehow the family relationship itself. People should cease to have committed relations with each other; interdependence is bad. Childbirth should be performed by machines and child-raising by state institutions. Housework should be abolished by state nurseries and kitchens, etc. One solves the isolation of women's work in the present home by abolishing the home. Thus, once again it is the female sphere rather than the male sphere that is seen as the problem to be eliminated.

These solutions bother me. The reason is that they are the logical totalization of the pattern of industrialization itself, which treats all people as a robot

labor force and does away with the resistance to the industrial work pattern that is offered by the older, self-owned and managed space which we call "home." This self-owned space still allows us to *own the means of production* directly, at least for those remaining functions of producing our own babies and cooking our own food. Home, in other words, is the remnant of the older, communally self-run world that once included much of "work."

Ironically, socialists, who want to restore to people the ownership of the means of production taken from them by industrial capitalism, advocate solving the problem of "women" and the "home" by totalizing the industrial, capitalist pattern of alienation of the means of production. People resist this because they sense that their homes are the last places where they are still free to govern their own lives. This has a great deal to do with what is felt to be the antipathy to what is understood as "socialism" in the United States.

There are other, less radical, solutions to the problem of work. One that is popular in some circles is pay for housework. This solution also puzzles me. First of all, it still assumes that it will be women who normally do the housework. They will now be compensated by a regular wage and by social security benefits, retirement, etc. I have never been able to figure out where the money to pay wives for their housework could come from except their husbands. The husband-wife relationship would be changed into an employer-employee relationship, and the money shared cooperatively between them for household management would be rationalized as wages. No increased income would thereby come into the family.

Pay for housework could bring some benefits to women over the present system. They would own a certain share of the husband's income autonomously, thereby increasing, or decreasing, the share they presently manage informally. The wife's work would also be publicly acknowledged in divorce settlements, social security for widows, etc. But this approach does not change the mutual exclusion of roles that is the heart of female dissatisfaction. The substitution of a wage relation between husband and wife

A Combination of

circumstances has resulted in the delay of several recent issues—the time required to transcribe the speeches from the Thirty-fifth Anniversary Colloquium and Dinner plus significant delays, partly due to the year-end holidays, in the printing and mailing of the journal. We appreciate your patience and trust you are now receiving your issues with regularity.

for the cooperative relation of shared property also further abandons the earlier concept of a shared, directly productive life for the all-dominant wage system as the only basis of esteem and remuneration. This is the essence of alienated labor.

All these solutions attack the wrong end of the stick; namely, the home rather than the industrial work pattern. I would like to imagine a different system where men and women are presumed to share equally *both* the world of jobs, of public power and experience, and the work of the private sphere, which means not just housework, child-raising and consumer management but all the opportunities for self-cultivation that the leisure sphere offers. This is also where time is our own, where it is not incorporated into a wage system we don't control that owns and manages our lives.

The 25-Hour Workweek

One essential element in changing the present work-home dichotomy is to change the male workday that makes these two spheres mutually exclusive. Therefore, let us play, somewhat arbitrarily, with an alternative pattern. Suppose that for those families or living units of two adult wage earners a normal workweek was 25 hours rather than 40. This would allow the two working adults to adjust differently their roles in relation to each other. The 25-hour week could be divided into a six and a quarter-hour, four-day workweek or an eight and a quarter-hour, three-day workweek. Collectively the couple (which might or might not be a heterosexual married couple) would work 50 hours, bringing home a proportionately higher income than the one 40-hour income but not so much more as to create the present violent maladjustments between some families with two incomes and others with none.

With a three- or four-day flexible workweek there is much more possibility of mutually shared housework and child-raising. Each person could be home one or two days while the other is working. Each would feel less pressed to find time for civic activity, self-cultivation, relation to children, etc. The pattern of over-worked husbands and under-stimulated wives could be changed in a real and systemic way to one of mutually shared work and home lives.

Presently what are called "part-time" jobs are only available in some professions, such as teaching, and usually put the worker in a much inferior position in terms of pay scale, benefits, job advancement, etc. Essential to the flexible workweek is that it would be paid on the same proportional pay scale as a longer work week and would put the worker in the same track for retirement and medical benefits, advance-

ment, etc. For example, instead of one adult holding a 40-hour job paying \$20,000, both would hold 25-hour jobs paying \$12,500 each, collectively earning \$25,000 per year for a 50-hour week.

Someone who needs a longer workweek would not be forced to work a shorter one. Particularly, single persons or single-parent households might opt for the longer workweek. This approach still offers some benefits to the multiple-income family, but not quite the overwhelming disparity we now have between the two-income childless family and the one working parent with dependent children. Tax breaks and child-care subsidies would also be available to the one-parent household with dependent children.

But above all, income would not be dealt with individualistically, in a way that ignores the relation of income to family support. The present possibility of a double income for a few elite professional couples may seem a great advantage to a few women. But it can only mean defeat for the majority of women and injustice for the larger work force. If we hope to change systemically the present subjugation of women in the home, the entire system of work must be adjusted for shared roles and incomes on both sides of the home-work relation.

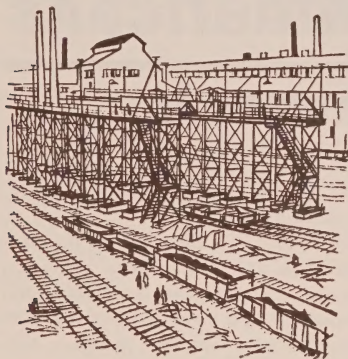
A shared 50-hour workweek would not abolish the need for child care for preschool children. We assume that if they are also to have time together, husband and wife would be working some days at the same time. We also must question the assumption that the isolated nuclear family, where one lone adult is related exclusively to one or more preschool children, is the ideal way to socialize small children. If women do not like their isolation with small children, it should be evident that children don't particularly like it either. Two-year-olds like to be with other two-year-olds, with an adult or two as a nearby resource but not as one's constant companion.

The isolation of small children from a peer group or from adults other than the mother also is a peculiar result of industrialization. It was not a pattern made in the Garden of Eden; it is not normative historically; nor should it be presumed to be particularly good for children. Indeed, a lot of the frustration that builds up between a mother and one or two small children alone together is that children also are unhappy with a situation that isolates them from other children and adults in the tribal community that has been the normal environment for child socialization for most of human history.

We need group child care, and not just as a way of freeing mothers for other work or from their entrapment in the home, although these are perfectly appropriate results. Child care also should not be seen as parents' desire to repudiate their responsibilities as

the primary child-raisers, nor should the child-care unit be seen as "handing over the child to an impersonal institution." Rather, we should understand this need as a way of recollectivizing child-raising and recovering some of the attributes of the tribal community.

Resocialization of child care could be done either on the job or in the neighborhood. On-the-job care has many advantages. Work ceases to be seen as exclusive of the sphere of home and children. Facilities set up within the shop, university or factory mean



that children can go with one or both parents to work, can be visited on and off during the workday, can themselves have a sense of knowing about and participating in the parents' work world and can come home with their mother or father at night. The preindustrial child could hang around the father's blacksmith shop and could feel that he or she knew what "Daddy" did at work, whereas the modern child is as cut off as women from access to the "man's" world. On-the-job child care could be paid for partly from parent's wages and partly by the employer.

Toward Some Markedly Different Values

A second pattern of child care could occur in the neighborhood. Here a group of parents could collaborate. Perhaps 15 parents from eight families (including one single-parent family) with a total of 16 preschool children between them could pool the work. Three parents each day, on a rotating basis, would run the facility, each contributing one day a week. Communities might also develop training centers with paid professionals to give such parents help in developing skills.

Such neighborhood groups would mean that larger groups of children would grow up together as something like extended families. They could not only see each other during day care but also form bonds on

a continuing basis, much as traditional African villages bond groups of children together from an early age into a primary peer group. These children would also have the enrichment of having not just two parents but an extended group of "aunts" and "uncles" to whom they could look for additional adult resources and role models. This is particularly valuable for children as they enter teenage years.

Not only would such family bonding be enormously helpful support for parents, but it would be a much more satisfying community for children that would diffuse much of the sibling rivalry and child-parent antagonism typical of the isolated nuclear family. This has to do not with abolishing the family and relation to one's own parents, brothers and sisters as a primary base of identity and affection, but simply with embedding the family in a larger supportive network.

These are very modest suggestions. A 50-hour workweek shared by two adults and collective child care in neighborhoods and workplaces are possibilities that one could start to work on in many places *now*. Yet the development of such patterns adds up to an enormous shift in the present pattern of mutually exclusive male-female, work-home dichotomies that makes such simple matters as shared housework, inexpensive, noninstitutional child care and job opportunities for women insoluble within the present system.

Such developments would work no enormous dislocation in the social patterns that Americans are comfortable with, but they would extend and build on the best aspects of our present arrangements. This means, I think, that there are truly possible solutions *for us* unlike Israeli *Kibbutzim* and Chinese peasant communes that might sound great but have little chance of widespread success for people with our history and society.

There are embedded in these changes some values and assumptions that are markedly different from those of the present American capitalist society. First of all, we assume that all people in a society have a right to work and to a living wage. We assume that the total productive resources of a society belong first of all to the whole society, rather than to the owners who use them privatistically to maximize profits at the expense of the common good. A *planned* society is necessary to organize work and wage patterns so that all adults receive both regular jobs and a living wage.

I believe this also means that the extreme discrepancies between business executives who receive \$225,000 a year and the 1 family in 8 whose income falls below the poverty level, such as presently obtains in our society, must be brought to an end. Wages should be redistributed, not just through taxes (which

is annoying to people and wastes a lot of money in bureaucracy), but through changing the extreme gaps in wages. At present costs of living, a full-time working family should perhaps earn no less than \$18,000 and no more than \$50,000. Some hierarchy of wages, sense of "advancement" and success would

still be preserved through wages, but not with the present extremes. Many people would find their sense of advancement and success through means other than wages, hopefully through means that encourage mutual help rather than win-lose antagonisms in society. □

Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans

Frederick A.O. Schwarz Jr.

The following article by Frederick A. O. Schwarz Jr. was presented originally as a speech before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. It also appears in the January issue of the association's Record.

Mr. Schwarz served as Chief Counsel to the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (the Church Committee). In 1976 this committee completed the first comprehensive analysis of US intelligence operations, foreign and domestic, in the nation's history, which has resulted in the bringing of almost 100 specific recommendations before the Congress in the current session. This article deals essentially with the domestic aspects of US intelligence operations.

A contributor to these pages in the past, Mr. Schwarz is also a former member of our Board of Directors.

THROUGHOUT OUR HISTORY there has been a constant tension between national security and individual liberty, between the right of the majority to rule and the right of the minority to dissent, between the Government's need for knowledge and the citizen's need for privacy. Our intelligence agencies, which are charged with protecting our national security and obtaining needed information for the Government, have been found to violate our liberties, our right to dissent and our privacy.

In considering what our intelligence agencies should be allowed to do, it is again necessary to focus upon conflicting values. Charges of excess in the name of national security are, of course, not new to this nation. Shortly after the Bill of Rights was adopted, the Congress passed the Alien and Sedition Laws, making it a crime to criticize the Government. Hundreds of citizens were prosecuted for anti-Government statements during World War I, and thousands of radicals were seized for deportation during the Palmer Raids after the war. During World

War II over 100,000 Japanese-Americans were incarcerated in detention camps.

All these causes and cases raised the inevitable tension between national security and individual liberty. So does the intelligence issue today. *But* there is a fundamental and vitally important difference between the historic examples I just gave and questionable intelligence activity.

Intelligence activity is generally covert. It is usually concealed from its victims, who may never suspect that their misfortunes are the intended result of actions taken by their government. Accordingly, victims have rarely been able to challenge governmental intelligence power, in the courts or elsewhere. Moreover, the Government's intelligence program has never been described in statutes and has seldom been disclosed in explicit Executive orders. Thus, in the past the American people as a whole never knew enough of the facts to have an opportunity to judge whether their Government was exercising its intelligence powers in a legal, moral or sensible way.

But now we do know. At least our committee believed that "What some suspected and others feared has turned out to be largely true—vigorous expression of unpopular views, association with dissenting groups, participation in peaceful protest activities, have provoked both governmental surveillance and retaliation."

We now know enough to realize that the Watergate scandal was only the tip of the iceberg. The Ellsberg burglary, "the plumbers," the bugging, and the attempted intimidation of journalists culminated three decades of flouting the law and ignoring the Constitution by major Federal law enforcement and intelligence agencies.

What happened was, I believe, the inevitable result

of ignoring the wise restraints devised by the Founding Fathers in their effort to keep the people free. They knew that the natural tendency of government is to abuse its powers. They knew that excessive secrecy increases that risk. They knew, as Madison put it in the 51st *Federalist*, that men are not angels and that since they are not, both external and internal controls upon government are necessary.

Concealing Crimes with Euphemisms

What has our secret Government been doing? Let me give you some of the facts. I will use the words of the intelligence officials themselves, written down when they were sure they would never be seen by outsiders—certainly not by a senatorial committee. Here are a few examples:

In the late 1960's the FBI sought to *increase* tension among rival black groups, going so far as to try, under the COINTELPRO Program, to provoke killings. Listen to the San Diego FBI office boast about how our most respected law enforcement agency was fomenting violence:

Shootings, beatings and a high degree of unrest continue to prevail in the ghetto area of southeast San Diego. Although no specific counterintelligence action can be *credited* with contributing to this overall situation, it is felt that a substantial amount of the unrest is directly attributable to this program (*italics added*).

In the 1950's and early 1960's the CIA experimented with drugs such as LSD. That's not so surprising, and it is not improper. But they experimented with unsuspecting victims—or, in the sterile jargon of the intelligence community, "unwitting subjects." This policy led to at least one death. Listen to Richard Helms justify the decision to go forward:

While I share your uneasiness and distaste for any program which tends to intrude on an individual's private and legal prerogatives, I believe it is necessary that the agency maintain a central role in this activity. . . . I therefore recommend your approval for continuation of the program.

Note those sanitized words: "uneasiness," "distaste," "tends to intrude"—bleached, lifeless words about stark realities of death and lawlessness. Such words, which conceal crime or hide violence, ran through every agency that we examined:

—The CIA labeled the risk of getting caught at the criminal business of opening the mail as "flap potential."

—The FBI called its burglaries "black bag jobs," and the fruits of a burglary were called information from a "sensitive and highly reliable" source.

—Words like "national security" and "foreign intelligence" became the justification for reports on telephone calls made by people like Eleanor Roosevelt, journalists, the chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, White House aides and Supreme Court Justices William Douglas and Potter Stewart. (Some of these persons were themselves targets. Others became the subjects of reports when overheard talking to other targets.) These broad words were similarly used to justify opening the mail of organizations like the American Friends Service Committee and of many professors at Harvard University. Hundreds of such examples led our committee to conclude, without dissent, that

The imprecision and manipulation of . . . labels [such as national security], coupled with the absence of any outside scrutiny, has led to . . . improper use [of techniques like taps, bugs and mail opening] against American citizens who posed no criminal or national security threat to the country.

—Words were simply turned upside down. Thus, the Bureau officially classified the nonviolent Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Dr. Martin Luther King as a black nationalist *hate* group. And Dr. King was described as the "most dangerous Negro leader in the country" who should be destroyed because he "might abandon" his allegiance to nonviolence.

—When the intelligence agents themselves planned violence, many had a hard time using simple, honest, direct words to describe what they had done. They preferred euphemisms. Thus, we examined many witnesses who had been involved in the efforts to assassinate foreign leaders such as Fidel Castro of Cuba and Patrice Lumumba of the Congo. Very few—indeed I can't remember any—could bring themselves to use words like "assassinate," "murder" or "kill." Instead today, just as in the contemporaneous documents, they would say "dispose of," "get rid of," "eliminate" or some such euphemistic circumlocution. (One cannot be sure, of course, but my belief is that failure to call dirty business by its rightful name increases the chance of dirty business being done.)

"Just Naturally Pragmatic"?

A good index to what our committee found most troublesome is the fact that our first major finding and our first recommendation deal with the same subject—contempt for the law and the Constitution. As an illustration of the wide range of lawlessness that we saw, let me describe FBI activities in Chicago around the time of the Democratic Convention in 1968.

—A general instruction had earlier been given to Bureau field agents to use “misinformation” to disrupt demonstrations. (Misinformation is another of those euphemisms.) In Chicago the Bureau got forms that antiwar demonstrators were to use to find housing and filled them out with false addresses. The Bureau boasted that this caused “long and useless journeys.”

—The Bureau illegally obtained the tax returns of one of its “targets” and then tried to provoke an IRS investigation for the express purpose of deterring the targeted protest leader from attending the convention.

—These tactics, silly violations of the First Amendment, were mild indeed compared to what the Bureau tried to do to the Black Panthers in Chicago at around the same time. Here, the committee believed the only fair conclusion from the evidence was that the Bureau sought to provoke mayhem and murder.

—Besides the Panthers, there was another gang in Chicago called the Blackstone Rangers. That group and its leader were believed, in the words of the FBI, to be “violence prone . . . [persons] to whom violent type activity—shooting and the like—is second nature.” Given that assessment, the Bureau decided to send a fake letter to the Blackstone Ranger leader, Jeff Forte, warning him that the Panthers had “a hit out for him.” The reason put forward to justify sending such a letter was: “It is believed the above may intensify the degree of animosity between the two groups and occasion Forte to take retaliatory action.”

These activities in Chicago were all part of the FBI’s nationwide COINTELPRO Program—an ugly little acronym that would have been at home in any police state in Eastern Europe or Latin America. It meant illegal investigations and secret punishment, administered not by a court but by the Government’s chief law enforcement agency. And its aim was not to arrest, but to “harass and disrupt” dissidents and others deemed to be unacceptable. COINTELPRO’s tactics were designed, for example, to break up marriages of civil rights workers, to get teachers fired, to destroy reputations of lawyers, to sabotage political campaigns, and to encourage violent retribution by falsely and anonymously labeling intended victims as government informers.

We examined the men who ran these programs about their view toward law. Their responses chill the hearts of those who believe that our Constitution and legal system are designed to check abuse of power by government itself. Listen to some of the answers.

—We asked a senior FBI official who had been responsible for harassing targeted blacks if anybody, anybody at all, had ever discussed the constitutionality of COINTELPRO or its legal authority. His answer was: “No, we never gave it a thought.”

—William Sullivan, who for many years ran the FBI’s intelligence division, responded to questioning by Senator Mondale in almost the same terms:

“ . . . never once did I hear anybody, including myself, raise the question: “Is this course of action which we have agreed upon lawful, is it legal, is it ethical or moral?” We never gave any thought to this line of reasoning, because we were just naturally pragmatic.

“Pragmatic” needs were believed to override not only statutory law but also plain decency and morality. Once again the intelligence community’s own words provided the best proof. Listen to the cable of the CIA official in charge of Africa praising an agent well qualified to participate in the CIA’s program directed against Patrice Lumumba:

He is indeed aware of the precepts of right and wrong, but if he is given an assignment which may be morally wrong in the eyes of the world, but necessary because his case officer ordered him to carry it out, then it is right, and he will dutifully undertake appropriate action for its execution without pangs of conscience. In a word, he can rationalize all actions.

Thus far I have concentrated upon questionable attitudes and tactics. Those tactics are foreign to our best traditions. That is so whatever one thinks of the targets. Of course the Government had the right and duty to be concerned with, for example, any lawless acts done by the Black Panthers or the Ku Klux Klan. But it had, I submit, no right to try to foment deadly gang warfare against the Panthers. And it had no right to send dirty anonymous letters to the wife of a Klan leader seeking to break up their marriage.

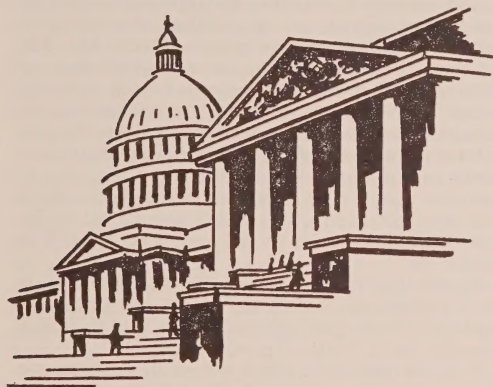
Surveillance: A Far-Reaching Net

It would be a grievous error, however, to believe that the Government’s intelligence net reached out only to get extremists of the left or right. In fact, it touched hundreds of thousands of ordinary, law-abiding Americans.

—An excellent example is the FBI’s broad-scale investigation of what it called the “Women’s Liberation Movement.” Meetings of women all over the country were infiltrated and voluminous reports filed on their beliefs. And once this spying started, it just kept on going in blind disregard of its total irrelevance to any lawful government interest. Thus, one lengthy report concluded that the purpose of the infiltrated women’s gathering had been to “free women from the humdrum existence of being only a wife and mother.” Based upon that was the investigation stopped? No. The recommendation was to keep on investigating.

—In the topsy-turvy world of intelligence it often seemed that suspects were guilty until proved innocent. Thus, a prominent New York City civil rights leader and adviser to Martin Luther King Jr. was investigated on suspicion that he might be a communist “sympathizer.” The New York field office concluded that he was not. But Bureau headquarters ordered that the investigation continue. Under the theory of guilty until proved innocent, Director Hoover stated: “While there may not be any evidence that _____ is a communist, neither is there any substantial evidence that he is anticommunist.”

—Similarly, the NAACP was infiltrated by Government informers for 26 years, although it was clear from the outset that its purposes were entirely lawful. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been infiltrated by Government informers for 40 years—even though the Bureau officials concede that it has not committed any crimes and that its rhetoric falls short of incitement to violence. And when I asked the man in charge of that investigation what sort of information was passed back to the FBI about the Socialist Workers, he replied that it included their political positions on the “Viet Nam War,” on “food



prices,” on “racial matters,” on “US involvement in Angola” and on any SWP efforts to support a non-SWP candidate for office.

That’s a pretty wide net. The numbers of people affected are further proof of how pervasive the Government’s surveillance network became.

—The FBI opened over 500,000 domestic intelligence files, each of which typically contains names of several individuals.

—The National Security Agency (NSA) obtained copies of millions of international cables. Indeed, from 1947 until 1975 it obtained copies of every single cable sent by businesses or individuals from this country to overseas locations.

—The Army investigated some 100,000 Americans for political reasons between the mid-1960’s and 1971. (These investigations covered such vitally important matters as a Catholic priests’ conference on birth control in Colorado and a Halloween party of Washington, D.C. schoolchildren, which was investigated because the Army suspected a local “dissident” would be present.)

—The CIA’s illegal mail-opening program produced a computerized index of nearly 1.5 million names. Among the persons who had their letters opened were John Steinbeck and Senator Frank Church. Perhaps the most ironic discovery we made was that during the 1968 campaign the CIA opened a letter passing between a speech writer and Richard Nixon.

Against these huge numbers the FBI’s list of 26,000 citizens to be rounded up in the event of a national emergency pales by comparison. But how broad the Bureau perceived the threat to be is illustrated by two of the names on that list—Dr. King and Norman Mailer. Mailer made it on a lock-up list that should be of particular interest. It was the special detention list of persons who would have to be locked up because of their “subversive associations and ideology.” This list included “Professors, teachers and educators; labor union organizers and leaders; writers, lecturers, newsmen and others in the mass media field.” And finally it included scientists, doctors and lawyers.

The litany of lawlessness is long indeed. But let me pause to provide some understanding for the difficult problems of the men and women who work for our intelligence agencies. The Government gave them assignments that were in many ways impossible to fulfill. They were expected to predict or prevent every possible crisis, to respond immediately with information on any question, to act to meet all threats and to anticipate the special needs of presidents. Under that kind of pressure, is it any wonder that they cut corners? And it is perhaps not surprising that they resent being chastised for their zeal.

But, understandable or not, it is time to get the FBI out of politics and back to law enforcement. We need a strong and trusted FBI doing that work; we don’t need them checking up on our politics. It is time to get the CIA back to its lawful missions and out of foolish dirty tricks. It is time above all to see that all the intelligence agencies stop violating the rights and privacy of American citizens. It is time that they stop breaking the law. And it is time for them to start, in the words of the oath of office, to “preserve, protect and defend” the Constitution.

Some Useful Lessons

But none of those changes will be made effectively or with any degree of permanence unless we heed the lessons of recent revelations.

First, it would be a mistake to assume that the errors were the work of a few bad men. Richard Nixon and J. Edgar Hoover make convenient villains. And some argue against permanent reform on the ground that one was forced from office and the other is dead. But the truth is that no single man, no single party, no single administration was the cause. Overly broad investigations and lawless conduct by our intelligence agencies have been a problem over the course of all administrations since Franklin Roosevelt’s. And many decent people instigated or knew about intelligence abuses.

Second, we cannot draw a neat line between our behavior overseas and our behavior at home. The cynical attitudes underlying CIA dirty tricks abroad necessarily seep back home. Inevitably, in Macbeth’s words the invention returns home to “plague the inventor.” As a former Assistant FBI Director put it, Americans “brought home” the tactics of wartime and applied them against domestic dissidents. (Since the 1940’s America has thought of itself as facing enemies. I suspect that the prolongation of crisis is particularly

hard for constitutional democracies.)

Third, a general lesson should be drawn from the fact that every intelligence program we looked at started with investigating or harassing targets who were at the fringes of law-abiding society, then moved progressively further toward mainstream dissidents, and finally began to cover ordinary citizens. Thus, the COINTELPRO Program started with harassing the US Communist Party and ended by harassing hippies. Similarly, the CIA mail-opening program was initially advocated as a way to catch foreign spies and ended by checking up on organizations like the American Friends Service Committee.

Tom Charles Huston, coordinator of the Huston Plan, whereby CIA and other intelligence agencies sought official sanction for lawlessness—for things they had long been doing and which they continued to do after President Nixon rescinded his written approval—put it well when he criticized his own earlier efforts. There is, he testified to us, the risk that governmental surveillance will “move from the kid with a bomb to the kid with a picket sign, and from the kid with the picket sign to the kid with the bumper sticker of the opposing candidate. And you just keep going down the line.”

Fourth, perhaps the most important lesson of all is that government is going—inevitably and necessarily, I submit—to keep on going down that line once it departs from suspected violation of the law as the only legitimate ground to investigate Americans. We should return now to the wisdom of Attorney General Harlan F. Stone who in 1924 told the Bureau it should not be

concerned with political or other opinions of individuals. It [should be] concerned only with their conduct and then only with such conduct as is forbidden by the laws of the United States, [for] . . . when a police system passes beyond those limits, it is dangerous to the proper administration of justice and to human liberty, which it should be our first concern to cherish.

Fifth, abuse thrives on secrecy. Public disclosure of matters such as the names of intelligence agents or the technological details of collection methods is, our committee unanimously believed, inappropriate. But in the field of intelligence, secrecy was extended much further. It served to inhibit review of the basic programs and practices themselves. I believe that if the excesses had been known the good sense of the American people would have stopped them. I am sure all those officials would not have sanctioned the programs had they known they would be exposed.

Sixth, the inherent dangers of excessive secrecy were compounded in the field of intelligence by consistently muddled responsibilities. Our witnesses constantly confronted us with a bureaucratic shell game. High-level officials, generally outside the agencies, repeatedly disclaimed knowledge of improper or illegal activities—and suggested that agency personnel were concealing their own nefarious acts.

Officials within the agencies consistently said they had the *tacit* approval of their superiors—and suggested the superiors were dissembling about their knowledge and approval. We found both accusations

to be true at times. But we found in all cases that the authorization and responsibility facts were confused. It seems likely that both bosses and operatives found that useful—it is certain that ambiguity as to authorization increases the risk of abuse.

Seventh, while interference with constitutional and legal rights is the paramount concern, intelligence agency abuses are also wasteful, inefficient and silly. They make it harder to get far more important jobs done. Consider just one fact: For fiscal year 1976 the FBI budget included twice as much money for informers in its domestic security intelligence program as it budgeted for informers against organized crime. That doesn't make sense.

And consider further how dangerous it is when an intelligence agency lets its political bias affect its public pronouncements or private advice. The FBI did that. Thus, for example, we discovered that the FBI's internal documents discounted as an “obvious failure” the repeated attempts by communists to influence the civil rights movement. Yet Director Hoover's public Congressional testimony characterized communist influence on the civil rights movement as “vitaly important.” The same sort of distortion occurred in the FBI's private advice to President Johnson about the anti-Viet Nam War movement.

Eighth, lawlessness by the Government breeds corrosive cynicism among the people and erodes the trust upon which government depends. As Mr. Justice Brandeis put it, “crime is contagious.”

It is now time to reaffirm that in this country we have no sovereign who stands above the law. It is time to decide that all the rationalizations that have been fashioned to immunize intelligence activities from the restraints of the Bill of Rights and of the Criminal Code are dangerous delusions. It is time to get back to the rule of law.

Executive Orders Are Not Enough

Ninth, in doing so and in fashioning remedies, it is useful to remember that none of the branches of government acquitted themselves with particular glory in the field of intelligence. It is true that the growth of intelligence activities mirrored the growth of Presidential and executive powers generally. For decades Congress, the press, the courts and the public accepted the notion that intelligence was the exclusive prerogative of the Chief Executive and his surrogates. It was exempted from the normal system of checks and balances.

Congress has now awakened to its responsibilities. That is welcome. But in considering whether the current vigilance of Congress is a sufficient remedy we must not forget the lessons of history. As one intelligence official testified about a particular Congressman pushing for more investigations in the late 1960's, Congress itself has often said, in effect, “to hell with the First Amendment.” And it is well to remember that when the Founding Fathers wrote the restraints of the First Amendment, they began by saying “Congress shall make no law.”

And so I suggest that in enacting laws to prevent

future abuses we would do well to heed the wisdom of those who set "ambition against ambition" and who, fearing abuse of governmental power, not only created a system of checks and balances but added a Bill of Rights as a further precaution.

The fact is that multiple safeguards are necessary. Our committee proposed 96. In broad terms these were: (1) reinforcing prohibitions upon domestic security activities of the foreign and military intelligence agencies (e.g., CIA, NSA, Service Intelligence); (2) provisions focused upon the IRS and Post Office designed to protect the privacy of tax information and mail; (3) prohibition of conduct such as the FBI's COINTELPRO; (4) sharp limitation of the FBI's investigative jurisdiction, basically requiring a criminal nexus; (5) prohibition of any warrantless electronic surveillance, mail opening or entries upon premises; (6) tighter standards for maintenance and dissemination of information; (7) increased supervision of intelligence agency programs by the Attorney General and by internal counsel and inspector generals, and a requirement for approvals to be written and periodically reviewed; (8) effective oversight by strengthened Congressional committees; (9) criminal sanctions; (10) a private civil cause of action for violation of either the new statutes or the Constitution by Federal officials; (11) repeal of the Smith Act [which makes criminal even advocacy of the violent overthrow of the US Government]; and (12) strengthening of the Espionage Laws to cover modern forms of international espionage, e.g., theft of sophisticated private technology.

Tenth, and finally, it is clear to me that unless we now use our experience to enact remedial legislation, history will repeat itself. The abuses will return. And as the technology necessary to big brother government is getting better and better, it will be worse next time.

Executive orders are not enough. They have been tried before—and they have failed before. Attorney General Stone curbed the Bureau after the Palmer Raids. He limited it to enforcement of the criminal law. But when crisis next was felt at the advent of World War II, the Government secretly got back into the realm of ideas. And it was all downhill from then until Watergate.

We can learn from this experience. I believe we will, if the people don't forget the facts and if they push for reform now.

I do not believe that the lawless, arrogant conduct upon which I have touched represents the real American character. That conduct does not reflect the ideals that have given the people of this country, and of all the world, hope for a better, fuller, fairer life.

The United States must not adopt the expedient tactics of the totalitarians. Means, lawful means, are as important as ends. Crises make it tempting to ignore the wise restraints that keep persons free. But each time we do so, each time the means we use are wrong, our inner strength, the strength that makes us free, is lessened.

The story is sad, but the people of this country have the strength to hear the story and to learn from it. We must remain a people who confront our mistakes and resolve not to repeat them. If we do not, we will decline; but if we do, our future can be worthy of the best of our past. □

Waiting for Carter

Leon Howell

FOR MONTHS NOW a long-running drama that could well be called *Waiting for Carter* has occupied the national stage that is Washington. The transition has ended. The governor is now President Jimmy Carter. And we shall continue to watch, and wait.

One resists saying that we don't yet know Jimmy Carter. During the election campaign that sentiment cloaked multiple good and bad reasons for opposing him.

But it can't be avoided. Candidate Carter, to be sure, was a lot more clear on the issues than most successful politicians. What is different about Carter, compared to post-Eisenhower Presidents, is the absence of a record on national political issues that would say more about him than campaign promises. Which is not a comment so much on Mr. Carter as it is on the political process. Issues look different to the person who must act rather than comment. Watch what we do rather than what we said.

A strongly Democratic Congress, a new executive staff and a nation look to a complex, careful, remarkable man for signals about the focus of our national politics in the next four years.

Those signals, as the Carter Presidency begins, are mixed. In Washington the mood swings from day to day, week to week. Floods of words have poured out on the meaning of this statement, that announcement, the other appointment. Arguments rage, even as they did among the black leadership over the designation of Griffin Bell as Attorney General. (Humor slides in. It has been said about Bell and James Schlesinger that Carter asked, "Why Not the Beast?" Or that outsider Carter warned his cabinet to stay away from Washington's Rock Creek Park thinking it to be just another Korean lobbyist.)

Cabinet appointments have been one of the early indicators. They seem to tell us some things that disappoint. At the least collectively they do not present the fresh new faces that Carter suggested. Does it mean, as some feel, that Carter lost his nerve and turned to familiar names that might well have constituted insider Hubert Humphrey's cabinet had he been elected? (One Washington veteran responded by saying, "Humphrey? They could be Rockefeller's.")

Carter promised, perhaps expected, to seek talent from a wide spectrum of the American people. If there is a common denominator to the cabinet, it is the narrow range from which he selected. The Brookings Institution, IBM and the Trilateral Commission

dominate the high-level selections. Brookings, the Washington think-tank that has provided so much data to Carter for his economic planning, has given Charles Schultze (chief economic adviser to the President) and at least four others to major positions. The Secretaries of State, Defense and Housing and Urban Development are all directors of IBM. Cabinet posts were offered to two other IBM directors, but they declined, William Safire, ex-Nixon aide tells us with some glee.

Cautious Optimism

Fourteen members of the Trilateral Commission, David Rockefeller's global issues body which was headed by Zbigniew Brzezinski, already have high jobs under Carter. As many as six more may well wind up in the Administration from an American membership of only 65, which included Carter, Mondale, Brzezinski and the new Secretaries of State, Defense and Treasury. American foreign policy will be dominated by members of an organization that sees the crucial "Tri" in world affairs as the US, its European allies and Japan. While the commission's publications talk of dealing justly with the needs of the developing world, it remains nevertheless a rich-nation club and seems to expect multinational corporations to be a key way to bridge the gap between rich and poor.

From IBM and the Trilateral Commission comes, for example, a former McNamara whiz kid named Harold Brown who helped design the air war in Viet Nam. Brown participated in the process that led to the firing of Ernest Fitzgerald for blowing the whistle on Pentagon cost overruns. He's better than James Schlesinger, an advocate of limited nuclear war, but what does Carter's reported fascination with Schlesinger tell us about where the new President will come down on military emphases? And will not Schlesinger use his formidable intellect and advocacy skills at his energy post to take us into a flurry of nuclear power projects?

Brown, Brzezinski, Vance: a defense team wrong about Viet Nam, the touchstone of our time; Brown, Brzezinski and Vance, who have shown little evidence of the kind of international vision and sensitivity needed to change US policy in a world split between the rich and the poor.

Yet Secretary of State Cyrus Vance has under-secretaries about whom one can be optimistic. Anthony Lake, who resigned as a Kissinger assistant over the Cambodian invasion in 1970 and until recently headed International Voluntary Service, will run the State Department's key Policy Planning Council. Richard Moose, whose investigations for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee did much to undercut Congressional support for the war in Indochina, will be Undersecretary for Management. *New York Times* reporter Leslie Gelb, who in an earlier post headed the study that produced the Pentagon Papers, will direct the bureau of Politico-Military Affairs. Former Humphrey aide Dan Spiegel, deeply concerned about human rights, will be special assistant to Vance.

Less is clear about the Defense Department under Brown, who has played his cards very close to his vest

in the hearings. The counsel will be James Wolsey, who as a Senate aide worked valiantly on the arms sales problem. Brown has the brilliance and the technical background to challenge the military's never-ending dreams of expensive and sophisticated weapons systems. He has a reputation of serving the wishes of his superiors. In this case, we might well expect a cut-back in our disastrous arms sales program. After all, President Carter has said: "I would not hesitate as President to assess unilateral reduction of arms sales overseas."

Individual cabinet members and other choices have caught the imagination here in Washington. Ray Marshall at Labor is expected to bring an awareness to minority concerns never seen in this post or in the majority of the labor unions. Take, for example, his break with the Administration's tax-cut-rather-than-job creation proposals. Juanita Kreps shows independence of style as Commerce Secretary and ex-Congressman Robert Bergland easily could be the best Secretary of Agriculture in memory, with his interest in a farmer-consumer alliance, the opposite pole from the agribusiness emphasis of the past decade. Andrew Young at the United Nations should be superb for the nation, however questionable the UN may be as the best place to make use of his talent and reputation.

Still, both blacks and women have legitimate complaints about the white-male flavor of the key positions in the Carter team. Long-time Hawaiian Congresswoman, Patsy Mink, was pushed for Transportation by many women's groups. Instead she will be an asset as Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans, International Environmental and Scientific Affairs. Women, we were told, lack the experience managing large organizations necessary to qualify for top jobs. So we get Brock Adams at Transportation. He did outstanding work as head of the House Budget Committee the last two years and will boost mass transit, reducing the danger of paving the entire nation. But he has no management experience either.

In fairness, one must admit that Griffin Bell acquitted himself better during his prolonged hearings on items like wire taps, gun control and the FBI than many previous Attorneys General. But in this position so important to minorities as a symbol of the Government's intentions, a simple comparison of Bell to other potential appointees like Barbara Jordan, John Doar or Burke Marshall says much.

The result, then, of trying to decide who Carter is by scrutinizing his key appointments resides in the beholder's eye. Washington veterans are, in the diplomatic cliché, cautiously optimistic as this new Administration unfolds. The mood is quite different, they say, from the unrealistic euphoria that greeted Kennedy. But those working on specific issues are given new hope by the sense of possibility pervading the capital.

Perusing the honor roll of those departing—Simon, Greenspan, Ford, Rockefeller, Kissinger, Rumsfeld, Bush, not to mention Nixon and Agnew—who governed by negation, immediately raises hopes. The Ford Administration's actions of the last few weeks serve as useful reminders of what is behind us: William Simon squelching an IRS attempt to modify

real estate tax shelters; Frank Zarb proposing de-regulation of gasoline prices; Donald Rumsfeld justifying defense spending increases by escalating rhetoric on the Russian threat; James Lynn at the Office of Management and Budget leaving booby traps in the budget that would effectively reduce social security benefits for the elderly; Ford proposing Puerto Rican statehood even to the embarrassment of Puerto Ricans who want statehood.

We wait now for Jimmy Carter. The outsider has moved from Plains to Washington. He has much to learn. He gives no evidence of being a slow learner. If he has gone too far to reassure the business community, a few more exercises in raw power such as that undertaken by the steel producers in raising prices (and resisting his blandishments) may educate him, even as the same industry educated John Kennedy.

The nomination of Theodore Sorensen to head the CIA was clearly a mistake. Sorensen had too much political and personal history to be the person to reform that troubled agency. Yet, within a day, word came to Washington that Carter will nominate a strong outsider to wield the new broom. He seems determined not to give in to the right-wing opposition, inside and outside the agency, to a person capable of a full revamping. How Carter handles this first clear defeat will begin the process of determining whether he is the President we have been awaiting. □

Reflections on January 17, 1977

Robert A. Pugsley

GARY GILMORE DIED today, and for the first time in a decade this nation is back in the business of killing its convicted murderers. Gilmore did not go out like his victims—terrified, close-up to the wrong end of a pistol, pleading for the life this misfit butcher was about mercilessly to snuff out in them. No, Gilmore desired the death he met at our hands—we the guardians of Western civilization, the keepers of noble ideals.

Gary Gilmore died today at the hands of a firing squad whose members still rely on the traditional ruse of a blank cartridge in one of the rifles, so that each executioner may be thought by his fellows to have been the one who didn't squeeze off a fatal round. Odd delicacy, that, in a society so convinced of the death penalty's necessity and righteousness that it is breaking a 10-year moratorium on its use. Strange,

too, in view of the supposed goal of deterring the would-be murderers in our land, that the press was excluded from witnessing today's main event—thereby denying us a first-hand description of this unique form of punishment.

But, of course, these were not the only signs of unease that the State of Utah (and others) exhibited about actually staging this morning's rite of passage back to the quaint customs of an earlier age. In fact, several weeks ago it looked like Utah wished Gary Gilmore would disappear without official help. And yet, twice the authorities forcibly saved him from death at his own hand, only to preserve him for death at theirs. Gilmore knew what he deserved under their law as it is written, and demanded neither more nor less than his due. For that, many thought him crazy. They took his willingness to accept the punishment they had prescribed as sure sign of his insanity. Not much sense of irony in Utah.

Gilmore rejected such paternalism and invited his self-appointed analysts (editorial writers included) and would-be protectors to butt out. He called moral cowards those lawyers and judges who exhausted every procedural source of delay. He challenged his keepers to find the courage of their expressed legislative convictions: You wrote the law, said he, now follow it. He called their bluff, shamed them over to his side of the line that separates those who kill from those who don't. Yes, he really stuck it to them, remarking that they seemed to have a great fondness for the death penalty but very little stomach for executions.

Gary Gilmore died today: the stationary target of five anonymous, secretly chosen men firing high-powered deer rifles at his heart from behind a blind 25 feet away. The rules of "sport" and the circumstances of nature generally give bear, buffalo and deer a slight chance; often, they catch the hunter's bullet on the run. The rules of execution are rather different: Only the bloody carcass is there to remind us that this, too, is a hunt, some reaffirmation of that in us which is savage, which yields to the primordial bloodlust for vengeance. We must blow a hole the size of a small cannonball through Gilmore's chest. That's, after all, the only way we'll be able to remind ourselves, and our children, just how inviolable is the life we human beings share.

It's a high moral lesson that we imparted in Utah early this morning. Those experts who know all about such things assure the rest of us that our sleep will henceforth be sounder now that Gilmore's parts have been disassembled from what we once recognized as a body. This land has been too long without the soothing sermons of those social commentators who will justify and explain the significance of the ritual that we revived this day. How comforting it will no doubt be in the rubble ruins of East Harlem, Watts, and the South Side—where murder is a frequent, unwelcome intruder—to learn that death's impending threat has been staved off by today's sunrise ceremony in Western mid-America.

We will be edified to learn that Gilmore died for us, so that the future killers of America will take heed and spare their innocent victims. That the claimed superior deterrent value of the death penalty over other forms of severe punishment (even for the cold-blood-

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ed kind of murderer like Gilmore) has never been clearly proved, and is unlikely ever to be, does not deter its supporters from making such claims. Nor does the reality that most homicides are committed by individuals (quite unlike Gilmore) in circumstances not amenable to deterrence: husbands and wives, fathers and sons, close friends, lovers acting in the mad fury of a second's blind white heat that is usually followed by an age of remorse. These people will not be stopped by the death penalty; they never planned to kill, and never will again, quite apart from any punishment they receive.

What Value Do We Assign to Human Life?

These considerations, however, will not quickly halt the march of state-sanctioned killing now that it has begun. Death, like life, has its own peculiar rhythms and fascinations. Safely removed from the executed's shrieking, defecating, choking, urinating, strangling, writhing, burning, vomiting and bleeding, most of us can learn to live with the state's hanging, gassing, electrocuting and shooting in our name. In time, as we did with the nightly television reports of a war being fought with our and others' blood and treasure halfway around the globe, we might even become bored. After a while, capital punishment will fade from the front, and editorial, pages; it will recede into the landscape of our civilized society.

The Old Testament's law of retaliation, to take "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," is frequently cited by those who desire the comfort of God's blessing on what they do. Two considerations suggest, however, that in executing a fellow human being we are acting on a morality of our own making and can expect neither solace nor justification from On High.

The first point is that, while the Law of Moses was vigorous in prescribing the death penalty for a number of crimes, the rabbinical judges of ancient Jerusalem's court surrounded the imposition of that supreme sanction with procedural requirements virtually impossible to satisfy. The result, as Charles Black points out in his book *Capital Punishment*, approached a de facto abolition of actual executions; some occurred, but they were rare exceptions.

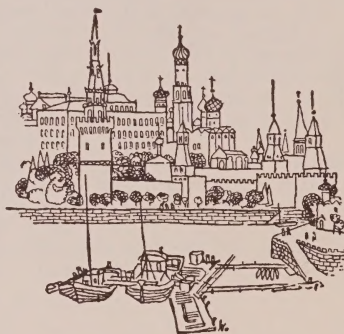
The people of God thereby acknowledged the inadequacy of their—and of any other imperfect, human—system of justice to impose the ultimate punishment that God's law might otherwise demand. Our system of criminal justice too often gets the wrong person, and is too often *and inescapably* arbitrary and capricious in determining who gets what punishment, to rest secure in the idea that only real murderers, and most of them, will meet the executioner. Unlike the Hebrews', our procedural limitations have not sufficed to prevent executions.

The second point is less subtle and comes from the New Testament. Christ was delivering the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:38-39): "You have heard the commandment, 'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.' But what I say to you is: offer no resistance to injury. When a person strikes you on the right cheek, turn and offer him the other." I'm not suggesting a literal reading of this injunction as a practical basis for penal policy. But obviously the Judeo-Christian tradition does not offer the unambiguous support for

capital punishment that some of the proponents of capital punishment claim.

The main concern in all discussion of the death penalty is what value we as a society choose to assign to human life, even that of someone found guilty of taking another's. It's not that a particular murderer might now justly deserve to die. The issue, rather, is whether our society can permit itself to impose that kind of punishment without at the same time eroding those very values in whose name it claims to be acting. Does state-sanctioned killing renew and reaffirm our appreciation of life's value? Does it?

Precisely because human life is inherently valuable, it must be spared. By that same moral and legal



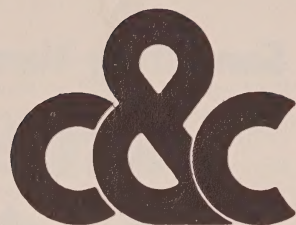
measurement, the violation of the victim's life is serious enough to punish severely—short of killing. This is a point that many opponents of capital punishment seem unwilling to discuss, but one that must be faced squarely. A life-term for first-degree (premeditated) murder, with no parole, is a very harsh sentence indeed; but in a proper case (like Gilmore's, for example) it would not necessarily be unjust. Commensurately severe and certain punishments for the various lesser degrees of homicide could (and should) be constructed and enforced. These legislatively prescribed sentencing ranges should allow judge and jury the exercise of limited, guided discretion in fashioning the particular punishment most appropriate for an individual offender. In this way, the sentencing agent would take account of the legally (and morally) relevant mitigating, as well as aggravating, circumstances surrounding the homicide's commission.

There are many better, no less deterrent, no less condemnatory ways of punishing murderers available to us than the path we embarked upon this morning. Tom Wicker recently expressed the still-realizable hope that we might be groping towards just such a resolution of this divisive problem: "... could it conceivably be that in keeping with the ... disappearance of executions in America over the past four decades, we do not really want to kill people, or even let them obliterate themselves, so much as we wish to proclaim them officially unfit to live?"

Gary Gilmore died today. He for one hasn't lost a thing he wanted to keep. Only his victims did. And all the rest of us—anyone who believes that life, even the life of a Gilmore, is worth saving. □

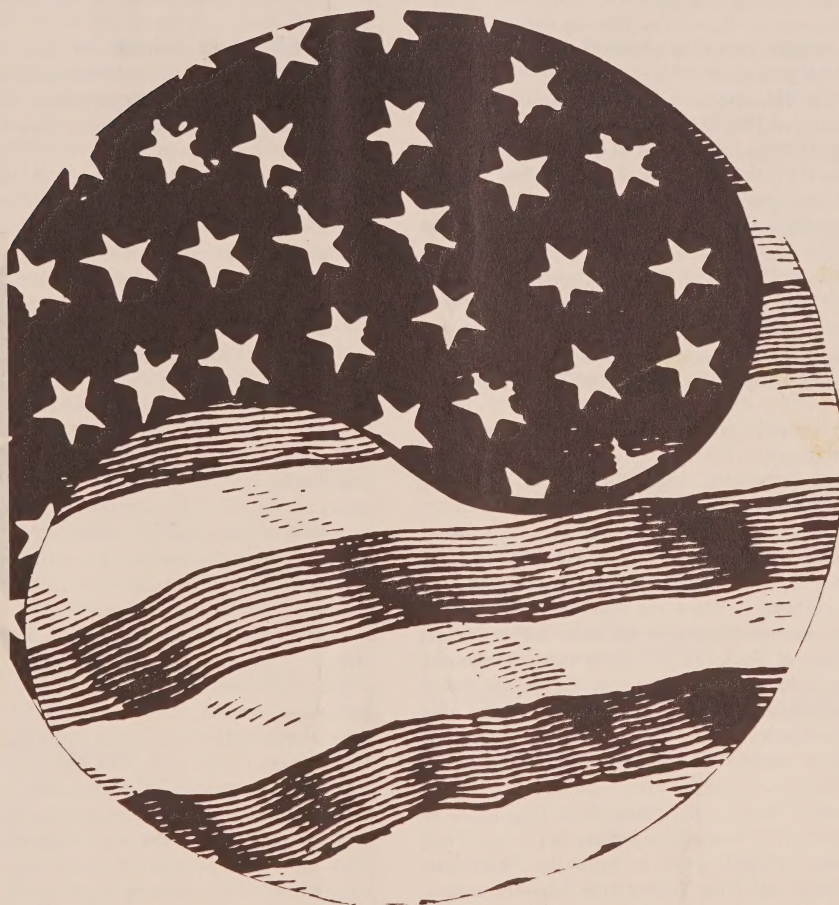
The Real Threat of the Moonies

Harvey Cox



Christianity and Crisis

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The Real Threat of the Moonies

Harvey Cox

THE BOSTON HEADQUARTERS of the Unification Church is an elaborately constructed old mansion on Beacon Hill, occupied during the Gilded Age by the family of the founder of the Jordan Marsh department store. From its steep windows and grilled balconies the members of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon's organization can gaze at a plaque erected on the Common in 1930 during the administration of the late Mayor James Michael Curley to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the founding of the City of Boston. The plaque carries part of the famous sermon of Governor John Winthrop, preached on board the *Arabella* just before landing, in which he declared the settlers had been called by God to "build a city set upon a hill," a new commonwealth which, under God's providence, would establish his righteous reign in the virgin wilderness.

There is something singularly appropriate about this juxtaposition, for in the Unification Church an old idea that both Winthrop and Curley believed in their own different ways has returned like the Ghost of Christmas Past. The idea is simply that God has a special purpose in mind for America, and that if America misses its destiny, it will be an affront to the very nature of God. For Winthrop this providential vision was derived from a stoutly Calvinistic belief that God's hand had guided the settlers to the new world. For Curley it was a hope, sprung no doubt from his Catholic parish and parochial school training, as well as from his own experience as an Irish-American, that America should be the place where what he called "the newer races" would find a place in the sun. That badly battered idea, called by some the "American civil religion" and recently seen to be faltering, is back again in a surprising new form in the teaching of Moon, a former Calvinist and a member of what Curley would surely have thought of as one of his "newer races."

Earlier this fall I attended one of those notorious Moonie weekend workshops, held in this head-

quarters building. Friends and family bade me farewell, some joking about how long they should wait before dispatching a deprogrammer, others voicing mild or serious misgivings about whether I should get involved with such people. My reason for wanting to go was mainly curiosity. I teach one course at Harvard on new religious movements and another on heresy, and the Moonie movement seemed to be a fine example of both. Also, I had heard and read a lot about the Reverend Moon, his Unification Church and the weekend workshops where innocent young post-adolescents were allegedly brainwashed into docile robots. I had done a lot to oppose the deprogrammers. Now I wanted to see for myself; so I called the local Unification Church headquarters and registered for a weekend.

The workshop began with a supper of hamburger and noodles. While we ate, some of the brothers and sisters in the "family" sang several songs. I noticed a high proportion of young people of Oriental background (almost all Japanese, it turned out) among the singers and hosts. Later, when the 23 people who had gathered introduced themselves, we discovered that we represented seven different countries including Germany, Kenya, Japan, England and Jamaica. Most of the people were already members. Only about eight were new recruits. One workshop attendee was a sympathetic mother whose son had joined the church a few years before and who had joined it herself recently. The master of ceremonies was a lively, sharply dressed, young Japanese who first introduced a sextet and then a sister who sang "Green Fields." Then he himself sang the theme song from *Exodus*. After a few more songs sung by the whole group, some sisters emerged from the kitchen carrying trays of banana splits.

Uniting Religion and Science

While we ate, the director of the center, an Irish-American, gave a lecture on the Divine Principle. His approach was cheerful, confident and articulate. He explained that this lecture was "only a taste," a sample

Harvey Cox, a Contributing Editor, teaches at Harvard Divinity School. His latest book, *Turning East*, was reviewed in our October 17 issue.

designed to persuade those still undecided to attend the workshop which was then beginning. (Only later did I learn what a small taste his lecture was and how gigantic a full helping can be.) His main argument seemed to be that we can no longer perpetuate the division between science and religion, but that religion must be brought up to date in order to meet the intellectual and social challenges of the modern world. He added that although in some movements one goes off to meditate alone in order to meet the divine, here, since people are created in the image of God, we meet the divine by meeting each other. He did not ask for questions and none were asked. After a few more songs we were asked to get to bed—it was already 11:45—and to be up for group exercise at 7 a.m. The men and women were ushered off to different floors.

At 7 a.m. the chords of a Bach fugue swelled through the building and the participants tumbled out onto the linoleum floor of a large room on the second floor to exercise. After 20 minutes of stretching, we breakfasted on orange juice, fried eggs, sliced tomatoes and toasted rolls. The morning session began at about 9:30 with more songs led by the energetic MC. Then the director began another lecture on the Divine Principle.

The lecture was unbelievably complex, elaborate and long. After an hour and 20 minutes my head began to ache; my buttocks had already gone numb. We had heard about the negative and positive valences of atoms and molecules; the feminine and masculine aspects of plants and animals; the need for a new development in Christianity; the pattern of Creation-Fall-Restoration-Last Days-Resurrection; the duality of God's being; the similarities and differences between Oriental philosophy and the Divine Principle. Were people actually listening? Although they seemed to be, I could not help wondering where minds were wandering. When I began to look a little tired after nearly two hours of the lecture, the Japanese woman seated next to me smiled and began to pound lightly on the back of my neck and massage my shoulders, apparently in a sisterly effort to keep alert.

At about noon, after I had almost given up hope that the lecture would ever end, the director announced a coffee break (*not* lunch) after which the "second part of the lecture" would begin.

We were back in the lecture room by 12:30 and at 2:30 the lecturer was still going strong. My stomach was screaming for lunch. I wondered how people were bearing it. Long before this, my own students would



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have reminded me that we had gone on far too long. The “Four Position Foundation,” the “Three Blessings,” the relation of the spiritual to the physical world, the reasons for the failure of Christianity to bring in the Kingdom of God, the need to establish a newly perfected family—it all poured out in cascades of words, analogies, biblical quotations and scientific allusions. I wondered what had ever happened to the “brainwashing,” the group pressures, the subtle indoctrination. To me it seemed like a clear example of philosophical overkill. At first I was totally unable to recognize what the appeal could possibly be.

But appeal there is—and it is in large measure a theological-intellectual one at that. In his new book, *Sun Myung Moon and the Unification Church*, Frederick Sontag has tried to discern what the appeal is. In order to do so he spent an entire year traveling and studying the Unification Church in Europe, the US and the Orient. His book is almost obsessively “objective,” setting forth the roots of the Moon movement in Korea, its amazing growth in Japan, Europe and America, the teachings of the Divine Principle, the brainwashing and deprogramming controversy and the future prospects of the movement. Sontag relies very heavily—perhaps too much so—on interviews with a large number of church members, including early disciples in Korea. His book also includes a lengthy interview with the Reverend Moon. It does not probe very deeply beneath the replies.

What Sontag glaringly leaves out is any reference to the cloud of political accusations that have hung over Moon almost since his arrival in the US. Some readers will find this to be a fatal flaw in the book. I did not, however. There is very little hard evidence to be found, and at the time Sontag wrote the book the Fraser Committee’s investigations of South Korean influence peddling (which, in any case, have not yet turned up much on Moon) had not even begun.

A Three-Tiered Challenge

Whether or not these investigations turn up evidence about Moon himself, I do not believe the whole movement is merely a political front. In fact, I believe some of the liberal critics of the Moon movement do us all a great disservice by seeing the Moonies *entirely* in terms of a political threat (which they may in fact be), thus failing to come to terms with the genuine *theological* challenge the movement poses. I think this theological challenge comes at three levels, no one of which can be dealt with by attempting to reduce the appeal of Unification to behavioral control or political subterfuge. These three levels are: (1) Unification’s bid to transcend the particularism of

historical Christianity and combine the great religious traditions into one; (2) Its programmatic effort to go beyond the dichotomy between religion and science; and (3) Its vision of a *novus ordo seculorum* guided in its economic and cultural life by religious teachings.

(1) *Beyond traditional Christianity*. One of the things about the Unification Church which most confuses and angers traditional Christians is that it claims to be a Christian church—thus meriting membership in the National Council of Churches—and at the same time a movement which goes beyond Christianity to a higher stage of spiritual development, a stage it claims the human race now is ready for. This is not a new challenge. Mormons, Christian Scientists and others have made it in the past. But the threat it poses to almost all present forms of theology is a formidable one. The question, simply put, is: Can there be new revelations, or are all such revelations *ipso facto* heretical? Pastor John Robinson in his farewell sermon to the Pilgrims declared that “God has yet new light to break forth his Holy Word.” The underlying question of what “new light” is and how it relates to the “Holy Word” has never been solved. Catholics have generally been a bit more open to progressive revelations than have strictly *schriftmassig* Protestants. Witness the evolution of Marian devotion and the revelations at Lourdes and Fatima. But Christians who emphasize the Holy Spirit more than either Catholics or Protestants do have tended to be even more open to religious ideas not derived solely from the original revelation. Lamentably, the failure of orthodox theology to deal with the claims of the Unification Church betokens a larger puzzlement about the independent churches of Africa and the burgeoning Pentecostal movements. Maybe that is why the National Council of Churches’ recent critique of the *Divine Principle* sounds so implausible at many points. At least the Moonies, performing the historic function of heresies, have forced the NCC to make its theology a bit more explicit. The problem is: Now that it’s explicit, how adequate is it?

I have no doubt that at the core of Unification’s appeal to many young people is its claim to permit them to remain Christian, but to subsume the particularity of Christianity in a larger and more comprehensive world faith. Moon’s teaching combines such characteristic Oriental elements as Yin and Yang, a kind of modified version of karma called “indemnity,” the role of the guru and—especially—the centrality of the family in transmitting a spiritual tradition. The volumes of Dr. Yung Oon Kim, the principal theologian of the movement, deal in a fundamentally sympathetic way with the major spiritual traditions of the world. In the research I did for *Turning East* I ran across hundreds of young people

who wanted to be religious, even Christian, but who felt both attracted by Oriental ideas and practices and at the same time confused by the bewildering plethora of religious claims around them.

I do not believe Christian theology can continue to dodge this challenge of global religious pluralism much longer. Unification theology is surely not the answer, but until Christian theology comes up with a religious vision that transcends the particularism (if not parochialism) by which it is currently harnessed, nothing is to be gained by condemning Unification thought, because it tries to cope with one of the major facts of life in the late 20th century: global religious pluralism.

(2) *Beyond the conflict between religion and science.* Why did two dozen reasonably intelligent people, including a nuclear engineer from MIT and a graduate fellow in physics from Harvard, sit through those interminable lectures at the weekend workshop I attended? I think the reason is that the Divine Principle was presented not just as an authoritative religious teaching but as a system of ideas substantiated by modern science. Time after time I was reminded of the books of Teilhard de Chardin. Many of the ideas are similar: a frank acceptance of evolution, a fascination with the "inside" and the "outside" of all phenomena (called "sung sang" and "hyung sang" in Moon's theology), the notion that we stand today at a crucial turning point in the unfolding of human consciousness.

Dubious Analogies

As the lectures proceeded, the appeals to science came less frequently, and there was even an occasional tendency to resort to proof-texting. I am not saying the appeal to science was persuasive. It was not, at least not to me, although I do not have much scientific training. Also, the science-oriented people present seemed quite unsophisticated in the problems related to the analogical applications of biological or chemical theories to other fields. Consequently they seemed more persuaded by the lectures than I thought they should be. Still it made me wonder about how much theology has ducked the issue of scientific reasoning recently by accepting this division of realms, while many young people want to find a single holistic approach to all questions. In any case, the lecturer continually stressed the need to bring religion and science back together, and his listeners obviously liked the idea and believed it would be possible if worked at assiduously enough.

This aspect of Moon's teaching explains to some extent why he is willing to expend such huge amounts of time and money on the annual International

Conference on the Unity of Science which is scheduled to take place this year in San Francisco and will concentrate on the "search for absolute values." This roster of this year's conference includes the usual number of Nobel laureates, as well as one prominent Marxist philosopher, Adam Schaff. I have been invited to attend this controversial and lushly arranged gathering nearly every year since its inception and have always turned it down, in part because like many others I have been suspicious of its actual intent. As I have looked into the Moon movement more carefully, however—and this observation is sustained by Sontag's more thorough study—I have come to believe that the Science Conference, though it obviously produces a large public relations pay-off, is not just a front or a subterfuge. Moon and his followers devoutly believe that science, ethics and religion must be brought back together. Although I have alerted uninformed colleagues in the past about the sponsorship of the conference and have urged them not to go unless they knew what they were doing, it seems to me improbable that it is mere window dressing.

In fact, reading this year's program makes me wonder why churches are not sponsoring more conversations on similar themes. Theologians may believe they have left the battle between science and theology far behind, but many young people—and many, many scientists—do not believe it at all. The turn of recent theology toward religious experience on the one hand, and social issues on the other, has left the vital issue of the relation between theology and science relatively unattended. Only the process

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There— isn't that simple?

theologians are pursuing it with much vigor. If the Moonie attempt to bridge the gap seems inept and heavy-handed, it should receive at least some credit for making the try. The only way to refute it is to do it better.

(3) *Spiritually guided secular order.* The critics of the Moonies are entirely right when they describe it as a political movement. Unification thought insists that its most important contribution is the idea of the "restoration" of God's original plan and the building of the Heavenly Kingdom on earth. It is a "social gospel" with a vengeance, based on a millenarian assurance that we are now living in the last days and a firm conviction that the Messiah will return when human beings have done their part to prepare the way. In Moon's theology the key institution in the transformation of any society is the *family*, since it forms the link between the individual and the larger institutions of a culture. Moonies believe that by purifying themselves and building new and holy families they are contributing to the reform of the whole. The restoration then proceeds to clan, tribe, nation and the world.

The question is, of course, about the ideological content of the Unification "social gospel" and the theory of social change underlying its teaching. Here Moon makes no secret of his position. He is a militant anti-communist, a South Korean patriot who avidly defended Richard Nixon and a man who has publicly stated that one of his main reasons for coming to the US is to warn us about the Red Menace. Readers of the Unification Church's daily newspaper, *The News World*, can hardly miss its right-wing slant, its fondness for Ronald Reagan and its tendency to support conservative causes. On the weekend I was at the workshop the newspaper carried a letter to the editor demanding Carter's impeachment because of his pro-communist policies, and columns by such predictables as Michael Novak (supporting capital punishment and Phyllis Schlafly (denouncing the Panama Canal "giveaway"). Another Moon-sponsored publication, *The Rising Tide*, is even more vehemently right-wing. The August 1977 issue featured a front-page photo and article on Dr. Fred Schwartz, director of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade. The cartoon depicted North Korean soldiers helping to get an American soldier out of Korea. The publisher of *The Rising Tide* is Neil A. Salonen, who is also president of the Unification Church of America.

"True Socialism"

Admittedly, this does not look a very promising social gospel. My own experience with the Unification Church, however, suggests that its political profile

may be a bit more complex than these facts suggest. Remember that Ted Patrick, the famous deprogrammer, made his original case against the Moonies by insisting that they represented a communist plot to subvert the youth of America. The lecturer at the workshop I attended frequently referred to capitalism as an example of the institutionalized selfishness which the Divine Principle is designed to eradicate. (His comment on communism: It's better than capitalism "in principle" since it looks to the whole rather than the individual, but its advocates have used "wrong methods" to introduce it, i.e., force.) The lecturer often used the term "true socialism" to describe the coming Kingdom of God on earth. The



workshop attendees I talked to did not appear to be devout anti-communists. They seemed politically naive and not very well informed. A lovely African Moonie woman told me that although she came from Kenya, she actually preferred the "African socialism" of Tanzania as a more ideal social order. The main political errors of the Moonies are confusion, ignorance and innocence. Like most mainstream Americans, they are against communism and pornography, for the family and God. Making all the connections is left to someone else.

The Moon movement has been accused of being fascist or proto-fascist. Since these terms are often used very loosely, it is hard to be sure just what the accusation means. If it refers to avid anti-communism, an authoritarian ethos and a blatant kind of patriotism, then those ingredients are surely there. But there are other parts of the Moon organization and ideology which do not fit into any recognizable profile of "fascism." Moon himself says the two Americans he admires most are George Washington and Martin Luther King, Jr., one because he brought freedom to America, the other because he wanted to make America a place where all colors and nationalities could unite to form a new world culture. The "God Bless America Rally" in Washington in 1976 ended with a tableau including a living Statue of Liberty—who was black. Unification thought is passionately anti-racist. Many of the marriages the leaders arrange among the members are across Oriental-Occidental lines, symbolizing the coming unification of East and West. A favorite Unification hymn puts it this way:

*Hope of a New Age is the power of the world
Song of establishing the true ideal
Resounding all over the world
Eastern and Western together hand in hand
Let us accomplish a united world.*

The real political challenge of the Moonies is not, I believe, that they are a proto-fascist movement or a secret part of a vast right-wing conspiracy. Those would be relatively easy to deal with. The real challenge is that Unification presents to idealistic young people a social vision aimed at peace, racial amity, ecological balance and economic justice based on stories and symbols drawn directly from the biblical sources they have heard since they were young and from the American civil religion that still—despite Watergate, Viet Nam and all the rest—maintains a grip on their imaginations. This seems especially telling since sociologists who have studied the Moon movement tell us a large proportion of its adherents come from second-generation American families where the American dream is still more vital than it is in other sectors. Furthermore, this vision of a Heavenly Kingdom that will start in America is presented as something the members can begin to work and sacrifice for right now. And they do.

I believe the attraction of the Moon movement to naive idealistic youth is not a result of sinister brainwashing but an inevitable consequence of the utter vacuum that now exists on what might be called the “Christian left.” The theory that the only things young people are interested in today are beer-guzzling and careerism is simply untrue. Many are looking for a credible, religiously grounded social vision. But little is offered them. The black movement, though it now appears to be stirring again, for years has seemed to be either moribund or suspicious of non-black participation. The peace movement is dead. Feminism, which has a powerful appeal to many women, hardly presents an inclusive social program. Everywhere else we see only fragmentation, confusion and appeals to support revolutions in the Third World, which—as essential as these revolutions are—rarely give a young person something to do here and now for a just and peaceful world. Moon offers toil and martyrdom for a world that must be built anew. The mainline churches seem to offer school and career in a world expected to stay pretty much the same.

I am convinced that the only real “answer” to the Unification religious/political challenge is to provide something better. It must be a political vision based on Judeo-Christian values, open to insights from the Orient, aware of the critical factor of class (which is rarely mentioned by the Moonies) and willing to utilize Marxist analyses without falling into sectarian bickering or authoritarianism. It is time for a rebirth

of a biblically based socialism with a real program. Young people whose parents and older brothers and sisters marched at Selma and flocked to the mass peace rallies search in vain for comparable opportunities to invest their energies today. Moon’s appeal is a reflection of the death of social action in churches and synagogues and the failure of theology to provide a credible basis for the struggle for the Kingdom. We should not underestimate youth’s willingness to accept sacrifice and discipline in the interest of an ideal.

Beyond Ideology

At about 10 o’clock Saturday night, as the lecturer was finishing his presentation, he began talking—apparently with great feeling—about the “heart of God,” a central symbol in Unification thought. “God,” he said, “is a brokenhearted God, one who has suffered for thousands of years, waiting for us to do our part to serve him and build the kingdom.” And he began to weep. Soon most of the young Moonies around me were also praying and weeping, asking God to forgive them for contributing to his suffering, dedicating themselves to him anew.

At this point, in an atmosphere that reminded me of pentecostal and charismatic meetings, I became aware that the appeal of the Moon teaching is not *just* ideological. There is a part of it which does not come through in Sontag’s book and is even more badly overlooked by press reports about brainwashing. The full name of the group is, after all, the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity. Here is a movement which manages to combine religious universalism, pentecostal immediacy, a warmly supportive “family” and a program for allegedly building the Kingdom of God on earth. Such a potent admixture cannot be dismissed lightly.

I left the workshop early Sunday afternoon. The door was open. No one tried to keep me from leaving. I had not been brainwashed; in fact, if anything, I had been a bit bored. My hosts and hostesses seemed genuinely sorry to see me go, but I attribute this to the kind of affection which always develops among people who spend a weekend together, not to some insidious strategy of deception. It was clear after the hours of lectures and discussions that Moon’s theology is not my cup of ginseng tea—something I had really known all along. Still, as I looked at the other churches grouped around the Boston Common—Congregational, Catholic, Unitarian, Episcopal—I could not help wondering what, if anything, they would do that day to offer a discipline, a vision, a devotion and a strategy to the millions of young contemporaries of those I left behind at the Unification headquarters. I am still wondering. □

How to Argue About Abortion

JOHN BENNETT

IT IS DIFFICULT for me to understand the intensity of Robert Hoyt's negative response ("A Call to Reflection," Oct. 31) to "A Call to Concern" (Oct. 3) for which I am partly responsible. I find no difference between his positive position on the issues involved and my own, and he recognizes that this is the case. There is some difference in the degree to which we feel a sense of urgency about making Federal funds available for abortions for women who cannot otherwise afford safe abortions. I shall speak of that later. I think that our statement would have been improved if we had had a paragraph guarding ourselves against the misunderstandings mentioned by Hoyt when he discusses casual attitudes toward abortion.

I have no apology for the use of "absolutist." Those who take the position of the bishops, of the "Right to Life" movement and of the House of Representatives are absolutists in a sense in which the signers of the "Call" are not. We who recognize that abortion may be morally permissible or even indicated as the course most consistent with love in particular situations are not absolutists in favor of abortion as the *first* resort in dealing with many problems.

There is a more important reason for using "absolutist." It is the tendency of those who take the view that we oppose to engage in "single issue" crusading, especially in organized efforts to intimidate candidates and legislators on the basis of a single issue. This is the most difficult kind of pressure for any politician to resist. The executive committee of the Catholic bishops was inclined to do this in the recent Presidential campaign, and they were fortunately reminded by some of their colleagues that there were many other issues on which the church had taken strong positions.

This "single issue" approach does characterize the

pressure organized today by Roman Catholic dioceses, to which we refer, in behalf of a Human Life Amendment. Such pressure by the bishops of New York on the state legislature was very evident in the 1960s during the political struggles over legislation on abortion. I do not know of any tendency on the part of those who oppose that kind of "single issue" pressure to engage in the same kind of pressure on the other side. I regret the position of President Carter on abortion, but in view of the many other fateful issues for which he has responsibility it would not occur to me to judge him chiefly on this issue.

There is one very important difference between those who favor an amendment to the Constitution to nullify the Supreme Court decision of 1973 and those who oppose such an amendment. Opposition to the amendment does not bring legal constraint on any persons to go against their consciences; whereas such an amendment would have that effect. It would make illegal the choices that many persons may believe to be indicated or even required by their consciences. I do not claim that either Catholics or Protestants are all agreed on this issue, but there is a considerable difference in emphasis so far as official or weighty teaching in the two religious communities is concerned. No crusade in favor of strict legislation on abortion gains momentum in Protestant denominations, but this does happen in the Roman Catholic Church. The highest judicatories of [at least] the following Protestant denominations have declared themselves in favor of laws that permit abortion in a variety of situations: the United Methodist, United Presbyterian, Presbyterian US, Episcopal, Lutheran (LCA), Reformed (RCA), and American Baptist Churches and the United Church of Christ. Nothing gives me greater perplexity than the fact that there is such a difference of moral response to abortion as between Catholic authorities and the dominant trend in many Protestant bodies. This contrast is evident in some of the things which Robert Hoyt says, especially his report that Protestant thinkers helped him to change his "once unyielding stand against abortion." I wish that we could get some light on the reasons for

this difference of moral priorities among Christians who may agree on most other moral issues.

Coercion of Conscience

The fact that a law does make illegal the conscientious choice of large groups of persons (and here we should add Jewish groups to the Protestant groups), whereas the absence of such a law does not compel any of those who favor the law to go against their consciences, is a very important consideration. We say in our statement that the bishops who are active on this issue (Mr. Hoyt admits that the bishops who disagree with them are “not saying”) have a legal right to press their point as they do. The most that we claim is that the situation that I have described should cause them to exercise restraint. There is a difference between what Catholic bishops press for on abortion and the position that they took on the Viet Nam War in 1971 and all that they do for the sake of justice to the farm workers. In those cases broad issues of justice are involved about which differences of opinion are not to any degree based on religious presuppositions that are dominant in one church but not in others. I recognize that there may be many borderline cases which would be difficult to classify along the lines I am suggesting.

I think that a model for action by any church may be seen in the way in which Roman Catholic authorities withdrew their support for laws governing the sale of contraceptives, some of them making use in this context of a distinction between sin and crime. Today it is doubtful if most Catholics would be happy with this distinction if it implies that the use of contraceptives is sinful, but it was a constructive way in which authorities could deal with the problem in view of the official teaching of the church.

Our statement is a political statement. The timing of it was influenced by the deadlock between the House of Representatives and the Senate on the use of public funds for abortion. We felt that our contribution was needed at this moment of national decision, whether or not it would have any effect on the decision in Washington. One aspect of this decision is that a refusal to make such funds available will force many women to have their abortions, which they will have in any case, under conditions that threaten their lives and their health; women who have the means will run no such risks. Again, I have great perplexity about the difference in moral priorities between those who are outraged by abortion and move to one political decision and those who are outraged by this injustice to less advantaged women and move to the opposite decision. This difference in priorities causes them to pass in the night. Why should this be?

Those of us who are responsible for the “Call” were greatly troubled by what may seem to some to be an attack on Catholicism. I doubt if I need to provide credentials to show that I am not “anti-Catholic.” My writings for 20 years, often in this journal, are evidence enough. Here I shall quote a sentence that I wrote in a letter to a Catholic theologian who protested against our statement: “I have often said that in the 1950’s Protestants were afraid of Catholic power but that now I felt that the more Catholic power there was the better. The only exception to that judgment that I would make is the Catholic teaching and political policies in regard to abortion.”

ROBERT HOYT

JOHN BENNETT recalls that when Catholic authorities withdrew their opposition to the repeal of anti-contraceptive laws, some of them explained their opposition in part by pointing to the distinction between sin and crime. By implication Bennett asks: Why can’t they do this on abortion? To me it seems obvious why the analogy fails. Nobody argues that the use of contraceptives destroys existing human life. In contrast, some people do believe that when an abortion happens, a human person is killed. Believing that, they can’t in conscience redefine abortion as a question of private morality.

So also with Bennett’s strictures against “single-issue” politics. Yes, such tactics are generally to be deplored, but they can’t be absolutistically condemned. Suppose the issue were the morality of a preemptive nuclear bombing of Moscow. Suppose we were debating the question, “Shall Jews be gassed?” If such issues ever rise, I suspect Bennett will practice single-issue politics with abandon.

Again, Bennett asks the Catholic bishops (whom he mistakenly sees as the only people of consequence on the other side) to observe “restraint,” on the ground that they ought not to coerce the consciences of others who view abortion differently. Once more he is asking the bishops to conform *their* politics to *his* ethics. Most of us are quite willing to constrain the consciences of others if we believe our failure to do so will result in great, unmerited injury to third parties who would be defenseless without our intervention. Many of us, for example, would willingly coerce the Afrikaners to give up enforcing apartheid, whether or not their professed belief in separate development is sincere. Freedom of conscience is not the supreme value when its exercise entails depriving others of basic rights.

I put it to Bennett, then, that he begs the question at

every turn of the argument. Given *his* understanding of abortion, the right-to-life strategy in politics is inadmissible. But right-to-life people, including persons of known sensitivity, adequately trained in moral philosophy, with excellent records on issues of justice, define abortion differently. Rightly or wrongly, they find it comparable in gravity with genocide or preemptive war. Assaults on their strategy that ignore their underlying convictions—or which dismiss those convictions with accusatory adjectives like “rigid,” “blind,” “extreme,” “relentless”—are not worthy arguments. At best, they are symptoms of irritation.

No End in Sight

I realize that none of this explains what puzzles Bennett: the great chasm between “pro-life” and “pro-choice” positions. It’s meant only to emphasize that the gap is really there. The wisest observation about abortion made recently in these pages came from Sidney Callahan: The issue, she said, is “unyielding.” Abortion as an ethical question is intractable; it is not going to be resolved in our time. For a decade the arguments have been recycled endlessly; today, as 10 years ago, activists on both sides still will not accept that that their opponents really believe what they say they believe. So they permit themselves to get nasty, in ways that threaten to split the women’s movement as well as the ecumenical movement.

Because Bennett so largely ignores them, I will rephrase here my observations about an even more serious consequence. As I view the debate, the best people on the two sides have become so polarized that they are wholly out of touch with each other, and so politicized that they are acting contrary to significant elements of their own traditions. If the bishops learned the same Catholic political wisdom I did, they know it’s a bad idea to enact a punitive law that won’t work, especially if the law will have serious negative side effects. Yet they are pushing the Human Life Amendment—which will not eliminate abortions, may not even reduce them but only make some of them dangerous, and which will certainly foster disrespect for law and nourish reciprocal hatreds.

On the other side, I think I know that at least some signers of “A Call” take a more serious view of abortion than one would guess from the ad. One reason I believe that’s a mistake is that the language of Euphues is not the proper language of ethicists, in whatever forum they speak and for whatever purpose. The ethicist’s primary function, the service he owes to his hearers, is the fostering of full moral awareness. Agreeing with the signers that abortions are sometimes necessary and that in every instance the abortion decision should belong solely to the woman most concerned, I still want them to acknowledge that the purpose of every abortion procedure is the violent death of a human fetus. Keeping that reality in clear public view, along with other relevant truths, will not make it easier to promote pro-choice legislation. It does serve the interests of truth and of those who need truth. The point is not that people should be made to live in torment over abortion decisions, past or present, but only that they shouldn’t be helped to kid themselves.

The other reason that greater candor is needed is that if pro-choice people would speak their full minds about abortion, not with phony solemnity but with true seriousness, and if they would stop caricaturing the motives and arguments of pro-life people, there might be the first glimmerings of a chance for compromise, not on the ethics of abortion but on a public policy toward abortion that would go as far as possible toward reconciling freedom of choice with respect for life. Suggestions toward such a policy appeared in my earlier piece. An article by Daniel Callahan which explains it more fully (and also argues the fundamentals of my case more precisely than I have) appeared in the issue of *C&C* dated Jan. 8, 1973. There are no extra copies of that issue available, but anyone who wants to read the article may obtain a photocopy by sending me 35¢ and a stamped, self-addressed envelope, care of *C&C*. □

Chavez for the Defense

“I F I DO ONE THING TODAY, I want to set the record straight. I did not praise martial law.”

Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers (UFW), was speaking from the stage of the high school auditorium in Delano, Calif., the town made famous by the Chavez-led grape strike. It was a warm Saturday afternoon, Oct. 15; 150 miles to the south the World Series was being played.

Chavez had spent 17 days of July and August in the Philippines as the guest of its government. Now, before an audience of perhaps 400, he was responding to criticisms of his trip, his acceptance for the UFW of an award from Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos and his alleged statements of praise for Marcos’ martial-law regime:

I think there are two issues involved. One is what I did and what I saw in the Philippines. The other is the criticism about the Marcos Government.

As to the first one, I am an expert. I can tell you what I said and did not say in the Philippines. I can tell you what I saw and did not see. And I can tell you my impressions.

As to the next one: I’m not an expert. I do not know that much about the Philippine Government. The burdens put on me by the letters sent to me, there’s no way I can answer them. Neither do I want to answer the charges because I do not know. And even if I did, I cannot and would not want to be a spokesman for the Philippines Government.

The letters Chavez mentioned came to him in floods, along with phone calls, following reports of his trip. A division of the National Council of Churches passed a resolution expressing “disappointment and sadness” that Chavez had accepted Marcos’ award and urging him to respond to allegations that he had

praised martial law. A number of individuals and organizations asked to meet with Chavez to press their anti-Marcos views.

Ostensibly the meeting was held to satisfy these requests, but when it was over—six hours and five minutes after it started—a number of the approximately 35 “outsiders” who came to Delano for the encounter were left unsatisfied. Two organizations—the Anti-Martial Law Coalition (AMLC) and the Friends of the Filipino People (FFP)—had decided in advance to take no official part. Church spokespersons, most of them white, found themselves in the awkward position of challenging a minority leader in the presence of a large group of his followers. AMLC and FFP leaders objected to an agenda heavily dominated by pro-Marcos oratory uttered by five invited representatives of the regime.

Chavez told the group that his priorities on the trip were to meet with peasant and labor leaders and to look into agrarian law reform:

I should tell you that I was very moved by the Filipino people; their friendliness, their hospitality, their integrity were something I had not experienced before in my life. . . I found a very keen awareness of the farm worker's movement. I saw a commitment among many Filipinos to solve the many problems they have.

Chavez said that on the occasion of accepting from the President a certificate of appreciation to the UFW, he had asked Marcos about elections in the Philippines. Marcos responded, he said, “that elections would be held. I thanked him for that. I told him that news would be appreciated in the US.”

Signs of Change

The trip, Chavez reported, left him impressed with the industrial development taking place in the Philippines, with reforms on behalf of workers and with favorable reports by labor leaders on their situation under martial law. When he raised human rights questions and charges of torture, the answer he got—and he repeated that he was only reporting what he was told—was that:

“ . . . these things happen. It is not the policy of the government. When these acts of brutality take place the government seeks to find out who did it and take appropriate action. In almost every instance, they would tell me, it's like what happens with blacks and Mexicans in the US. Sometimes they get killed by the police, but it's not the policy of the government.

From the floor came a question by Joel Racamura, a former member of the Student Christian Movement in the Philippines who had spent a term in prison in the Philippines and is now living in exile in the US. Racamura said that legitimate labor unions are harassed in the Philippines and that strikes are forbidden. “Labor union leaders have been imprisoned for months and years, and tortured. How would you yourself respond to such a situation?”

If that happened in this country, Chavez replied, he would be in total rebellion against it. “I asked them

how you operate if you can't strike. They gave me the explanation that the questions are resolved by arbitration. But they said, 95 percent or so, they said it's a lot better, we are making more progress under martial law (I'm pretty sure I'm quoting them correctly) than we did under the old Congress.”

Responding directly to the criticism he had received, Chavez declared:

I just want our friends to know some very straight facts. This union is growing up. We are very independent. The letters that came to us, some were anguished, some letters were very mad, some letters were outright blackmail. Let me just tell you this. We value and we need your support. But not at that price.

After 50 minutes or so, Chavez took a seat in the audience. The rest of the meeting was a clutter of statements and counter-statements, questioning, shouting and wrangling. What offended the “outsiders” at the meeting was the amount of time given to visiting VIP's from Manila, whom they regarded as Marcos apologists and puppets.

One of the five Philippines representatives, Jeremias (Jerry) Montemayor, attacked clergy participation in political matters, raising questions about identity crises and the effect of celibacy. Montemayor, president of the Federation of Free Farmers (FFF) and a presidential assistant on land reform, was challenged from the floor by Father Bruno Hicks, a Franciscan who is barred from the Philippines. Hicks accused Montemayor of having collaborated in the arrest and jailing of the previous top FFF leaders in 1972. Montemayor denied the charge as a slander.

Before the meeting another of the visiting Filipinos, Mac Fabian, passed out copies of an open letter addressed to Jimmy Carter. It read, in part:

Rabid and myopic human rightists can condemn Mr. Marcos to high heavens for jailing a few thousands of Filipino degenerates—carnappers,

A Letter from the Philippines

TO THE EDITORS: Leon Howell's open letter to Cesar Chavez (Sept. 19) is right on target. We arrived in Manila two days after Chavez. Shortly after our arrival we made contact with Protestant leaders who invited us to join with them in what was to be a closed forum where Chavez was to speak.

The day before the meeting, one of our friends hurriedly came by our room to tell us that the Chavez address was off. “There would be no possibility for open dialogue,” they explained. “Everywhere he goes he is surrounded by a group of government agents.” The forum participants knew that if there would be open discussion with Chavez, their necks would be on the line. Some had already spent far too many months in Philippine jails under Marcos' martial law government.

GENE STOLTZEUS
DOROTHY FRIESEN
RIZAL, PHILIPPINES

rapists, warlords and scoundrels, but they must not forget the farmers whom Mr. Marcos freed from tenancy and serfdom.

I understand there are some Filipinos and Americans who feed you some information about my country. They are generally critical of the Marcos Government. But these critics belong to a group of bigoted priests and nuns, political lameducks and *hacenderos* whose lands were placed under land reform but paid with government bonds.

Another speaker was Luis Taruc, fabled commander-in-chief of the Hukbong ng Bayan who fought against the Japanese during World War II and later against the postwar Philippines government. Fourteen years a guerrilla and 16 years a prisoner, Taruc now works with peasant groups as a presidential assistant on agrarian reform. Taruc also defended martial law, and again there was a challenge from the floor. The Rev. Paul Wilson, a Disciple of Christ missionary who had been held 16 days in jail before being deported from the Philippines, said he thought he remembered Taruc telling him he was released from prison only upon agreeing to work with the government. Taruc vehemently denied this.

Words and Actions

After five hours this reporter put one question. Addressing Chavez, I said, in substance: You have called *The Washington Post* story wrong and denied that you praised martial law. Here today people are trying to learn Cesar Chavez' position on martial law. You visited the Philippines as a government guest, you received an award from Marcos, you invited the Philippines' Minister of Labor and a Philippines consul as special guests to your convention. Today you have on the program three people who obviously can be called strong defenders of martial law. You may, as you say, never have praised martial law; but the empirical evidence shows you are linked to the martial law regime.

The chairman, the Rev. Chris Hartmire, treated my remarks as a statement rather than a question and called on someone else, but several people shouted for an answer. Chavez pointed at me and shouted, "I answered the question in my speech. And he knows it."

Two minutes later he knelt down beside me and asked if I had not heard his opening remarks. Yes, I said; but did you hear my outline of the evidence? Chavez glared at me and said, "If you misquote me, I'll sue you. I'll haul your ass to court."

So finally I have met Cesar, and the enemy is me.

Which is not to say that he is an enemy to me.

Msgr. George Higgins, director of research for the United States Catholic Conference (USCC) rose late in the meeting to say he had not come to criticize Chavez or the Philippines. "But neither did I come to hear three speakers from the Philippine Islands say in various ways and with various shades of emphasis that these members of the clergy and their bishops in the Philippines who are exercising their freedom to disagree with their government are either subversives or rapists or whatever."

Still, Higgins added, "it would be a tragedy" if the episode interfered with the work of the UFW.

The Rev. John Moyers said the speeches by the Filipino guests had reminded him strongly of speeches made by growers opposing Chavez and the farm workers. But Moyers, who is president of the National Farmworkers Ministry, said the pain he felt over the incident would not affect his commitment to the UFW.

Joel Rocamura told Chavez, sadly: "The same forces that oppress the farmworkers [in the US] oppress the people you did *not* see in the Philippines. It is also sad that three morally bankrupt spokesmen for martial law are drawing on the moral authority of Cesar Chavez."

The Rev. Brian Hehir, director of the USCC Commission on Peace and Justice, told Chavez that his influence is such that "what you say on a foreign issue has a heavy impact." Chavez' relationship to Marcos, Hehir said, is still a live question because "we are going to continue to have a debate" about US policy toward the Philippines.

Afterward, the Rev. Arturo Fernandez, active in ministry to Hispanics in nearby Fresno, said the meeting and the events that occasioned it illustrate the trap to which minority groups are subject in the US. Like most people struggling on local issues, said Fernandez, even Cesar Chavez has developed his moral commitment to justice "within a limited, non-global framework." But perhaps, Fernandez hopes, someone Chavez trusts can "reach him" on the issue.

That's something worth hoping for. But if it isn't John Moyer or George Higgins—both of whom have spent freely of themselves on behalf of the UFW—who will it be?

LEON HOWELL

Correspondence

TO THE EDITOR: Robert Lekachman's comments ("The Middle East Conflict: Making Room for Reason," Aug. 15) were both encouraging and discouraging to those of us seeking justice for Palestinian Arabs as well as peace for Israeli Jews: encouraging because Lekachman appears to want a West Bank-Gaza homeland for the Palestinians, and because he objects to American Jewish groups "automatically" taking Israeli positions; discouraging because Lekachman shows the very lack of accurate information, wishful thinking and double standards in judging the conflict which effectively prevent most American Jews from supporting Palestinian rights or—in practice—criticizing Israeli policies.

Some of the discouraging aspects of Lekachman's comments are:

(1) Lekachman says that recognition by the PLO of the "legitimacy of Israel" is a "precondition to conversation" which cannot be balanced with Israeli refusal to recognize the PLO. Yet why should the PLO recognize the right of Jews to have a state (especially a state which discriminates against and excludes Palestinians) *prior* to Israeli recognition of the right of

Palestinians to their own state as called for in the UN Partition Plan of 1947? The fairest and most politically practical solution is for Israel and the PLO to talk together at Geneva without preconditions. The very talks would constitute *de facto* mutual recognition and could then lead to *de jure* recognition between Israeli and Palestinian states.

The PLO has indicated that it will go to Geneva and accept UN resolution 242—and thereby the state of Israel—if 242 is expanded to recognize Palestinian rights. Israel, however, refuses to talk to the PLO under any circumstances because Israeli leaders (Meir, Rabin and Peres as well as Begin) oppose any “third state” between Israel and Jordan. Clearly, the PLO has shown the greater willingness to compromise despite the fact that it is the Palestinians who are the oppressed people, living under occupation or in exile. Further, regarding resolution 242, Israel gives it only lip service when she attempts to annex Arab lands and denies Palestinian refugees the right of return—even to the West Bank!

(2) Regarding terrorism, Lekachman refuses to equate “Irgun and Palestinian terrorism,” arguing that the Irgun gave warnings before blowing up the King David Hotel and murdering the residents of Deir Yassin (Lekachman speaks of the Deir Yassin “incident,” but does concede that a “slaughter” occurred). Aside from the fact that the Irgun issued no warnings when they bombed buses and market places, did Lekachman absolve the US of any guilt when it warned occupants of Vietnamese villages to flee prior to air raids? Would a similar warning by Palestinians prior to the slaughter at Qiryat Shmonah have lessened Palestinian guilt? Lekachman finds “merit” in the Israeli excuse for bombing Palestinian refugee camps—that the camps are “mixed settlements of families and terrorist camps.” That was Washington’s excuse for bombing Hanoi and Vietnamese villages; it would be an Arab excuse for terror bombing of Tel Aviv or any Israeli city where defense ministry offices are located.

(3) Lekachman blames the policy of Israeli settlements on the West Bank on the “disproportionate influence of the rigidly orthodox sector of Israeli opinion,” and observes that Israel is a “democratic state . . . flawed, of course, by the semi-theocratic influence of the Orthodox faction. . . .” (e.g., it is “infuriating for an Israeli to have to go to Cypress for a divorce”). On the first point, settlements on the West Bank are supported by most Israeli Jews, not just the Orthodox minority. A recent survey showed 67.7 percent of Israeli Jews in favor, 19.7 percent against, and 12.6 percent with no opinion. On the second point, Israel is not a democracy for its Palestinian Arab citizens and residents as they are systematically discriminated against. It is typical of American Jewish—and, often, Gentile—insensitivity to or ignorance of the plight of Palestinians in Israel that Lekachman mentions the problem of non-Orthodox Jews getting a divorce rather than of, say, Palestinians—or any non-Jew—renting or owning land in Israel controlled by the Jewish National Fund or the State, i.e., most of the land. If there were no Orthodox Jews in Israel, Palestinians would still be second-class citizens. Israel is undemocratic to the extent that it is a “Jewish state,” granting Israeli Jews (or even Amer-

ican Jews such as Lekachman and myself) rights denied indigenous Palestinians, whether living in Israel or in exile.

Finally, Lekachman recognizes that he looks at the Middle East issue with “a Jewish emphasis,” and not entirely from a “general humane perspective.” He gives as examples, first, the fact that in 1967 Jewish casualties concerned him far more than did Arab casualties, and, second, his support of the 1956 Israeli-French-British invasion of Egypt—“almost universally condemned by moderates and liberals.” The first example is very understandable. The problem arises when one’s ethnic identification leads to support of actions by one’s ethnic group, e.g., the Suez invasion, which would be condemned by a “general humane perspective.” What Erich Fromm called “group narcissism” cannot prevail among Jews and Palestinians (or Greeks and Turks, blacks and whites) if they are to work for and arrive at a just peace, and cease rationalizing actions of their own group which they oppose in the other.

EDMUND R. HANAUER
Executive Director, Search for
Justice and Equality in Palestine
Waverley, Mass.

TO THE EDITOR: Professor Lekachman makes an excellent statement for the Israeli position. Regrettably it almost entirely ignores the question of justice for the native Palestinian-Arab population. . . . Too bad that the psychological phenomenon of tribal or clan loyalty doesn’t spare even such an eminent and courageous civil libertarian as Professor Lekachman. I doubt that he would be so onesided vis-a-vis the problems of the whites in Rhodesia and South Africa who in a situation similar to that of the Israelis wish to preserve their own “security” and “way of life” and who are becoming more and more similarly threatened. No wonder the Israelis and South Africans have a close relationship.

(Continued on p. 272)

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(This is in response to an earlier paid advertisement entitled "A Call to Concern" and reproduces its text in entirety.)

A CALL AND A REPLY

A CALL TO CONCERN

The increasing urgency of the issue of abortion rights requires us as teachers and writers of religious ethics to speak out.

A REPLY

"A Call to Concern" is not a professional position paper by ethicists. It is a political manifesto, and its rhetoric is not very professional. Opposition to abortion is described as "absolutist," "rigid," "relentless," "extreme," "inflexible," "blind," "denial," "dangerous." The signers' position is sanctified with a different vocabulary: "sound," "moral," "responsible," "affirmation," "candor," "conscience," "professional responsibility," "deeply held convictions." In a Bronx election one might expect this kind of cant, but it is hardly the way philosophers and theologians should go about their business.

Abortion is a serious and sometimes tragic procedure for dealing with fetal life. It raises important ethical issues and cannot be blandly legitimized by the mere whim of an individual. Nevertheless, it belongs in that large realm of often tragic actions where circumstances can render it a less destructive procedure than the rigid prolongation of pregnancy.

What is more destructive than death? The only serious ground for abortion being tragic is that it deals with fetal life by terminating it. On any less serious view of abortion there can be no substantial tragedy. And if one accepts the tragic view, then what misfortunes can possibly follow from birth which are arguably more destructive than the extermination of a fellow human? Those who regard abortion as life-taking do not foreclose this question; indeed, it is more often they who pose it.

We support the Supreme Court decisions of 1973 which had the effect of removing abortion from the criminal law codes. The Court did not appeal to religion or ethics in arriving at its judgment, but we believe the decision to have been in accord with sound ethical judgment. Taking note of the fact that theologians, as well as other experts, disagree on the fundamental moral question of when human life begins, the Court decided that the law ought not to compel the conscience of those who believe abortion to be in harmony with their moral convictions.

Quite true: in *WADE* and *BOLTON* the Court said that, absent complete agreement whether human life begins before birth, the interests of the mother may overbear those of the offspring. Just as truly, those who understand life to begin before birth (and this is not really an ethical judgment, nor one upon which biologists quarrel as do divines) dissent from these decisions and continue to press for legal protections for the unborn comparable to those we ourselves enjoy.

In the last four years, however, those decisions have been subjected to a relentless attack from those who take the absolutist position that it is always wrong to terminate a pregnancy at any time after the moment of conception. Those who take this absolutist position have not hesitated to equate abortion at any stage of pregnancy with murder or manslaughter. From such an extreme viewpoint, all legal means are considered justified if they limit abortions, no matter what the human consequences for poor women and others—as in the recent efforts to deny Medicaid funds and to prohibit use of public hospitals for abortion services.

Ethicists are expected to restrain themselves from misrepresenting positions with which they disagree. The position against abortion is both more simple and less silly than here portrayed. It is that human life begins when the human organism is first definitively composed; that destruction of a living human before birth is therefore homicide (a neutral term, not an absolutist one); and that ethical judgments about such termination of life must be consistent with all other deliberations about life-taking. The position, then, is not that abortion must always be morally wrong, but that anyone undertaking it bears the burden of justifying it. One can argue for justifiable homicide in war, in self-defense, in abortion, in criminal penalties. But when one hears no consistent or justifying arguments, and sees instead a straightforward desire to be rid of a fellow human who is an annoyance or a burden (as so often in war and in criminal punishment), then one quite reasonably says that most of this homicide is unjustified: hence, murder or manslaughter. What is more proper than for citizens of this mind to oppose the payment of tax moneys for purposes they regard as homicidal? To acknowledge that in many cases the birth of a child conceived will impose heavy burdens is not to treat those burdens lightly, but to say that burdens brought by the innocent young will hardly justify extermination.

We feel compelled to affirm an alternative position as a matter of conscience and professional responsibility.

1. *The most compelling argument against the inflexibility of the absolutist position is its cost in human misery.* The absolutist position does not concern itself about the quality of the entire life cycle, the health and well-being of the mother and family, the question of emotional and economic resources, the cases of extreme deformity. Its total preoccupation with the status of the unborn renders it blind to the well-being and freedom of choice of persons in community.

If this be the strongest reason, it is not very compelling. The evidence shows that about 5% of the abortions in this country are performed in the face of these kinds of misfortune. The enormous majority are abortions of expediency. And those who oppose them learned long ago from their social involvements and human service that human misery is not healed by death-dealing.

2. *"Pro-life" must not be limited to concern for the unborn; it must also include a concern for the quality of life as a whole.* The affirmation of life in Judeo-Christian ethics requires a commitment to make life healthy and whole from beginning to end. Considering the best medical advice, the best moral insight, and a concern for total quality of the whole life cycle for the born and the unborn, we believe that abortion may in some instances be the most loving act possible.

Many who oppose abortion on demand are indeed concerned for the quality of life as a whole and have a consistent record of social involvement. But this is not the point. Do the signers really believe that some people should protect their health and quality of life by other people's deaths? And it's a funny thing how ethical arithmetic is used—so often it is the strong who add things up and discover that the weak should make sacrifices for their quality of life.

3. *We believe it is wrong to deny Medicaid assistance to poor women seeking abortions.* This denial makes it difficult for those who need it most to exercise a legal right, and it implies public censure of a form of medical service which in fact has the moral support of major religious groups.

In 1973 the Supreme Court, in opposition to the considered judgment of the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Federal Government, and almost all of the States, legitimized abortion on demand. When in 1977 the Court had to admit it had no right to compel all other sectors of government to pay for abortions, it should come as no surprise that the elected representatives of the people refused to support abortions they and their constituents had considered criminal in the first place.

It is plainly misleading to describe abortion as a "medical service," when in 99% of cases it has nothing whatever to do with anyone's health. It may be performed by doctors, but is no more medical than their Wednesday golf games. And as for public censure of major religious groups . . . isn't that what "A Call to Concern" is all about?

4. *We are saddened by the heavy institutional involvement of the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in a campaign to enact religiously based anti-abortion commitments into law, and we view this as a serious threat to religious liberty and freedom of conscience.* We acknowledge the legal right of all individuals and groups, both religious and secular, to seek laws that reflect their religious and ethical beliefs. But the institutional mobilization of Roman Catholic dioceses, including massive financial contributions by those dioceses to the National Committee for a Human Life Amendment, is inappropriate on this issue. If successful, it would violate the deeply held religious convictions of individual members and official bodies of many other religious groups about when human personhood begins, the relative rights of a woman and a fetus, and responsible family life. This is particularly a problem when there is no clear majority opinion on these fundamental issues nor an adequate social base of consensus for legitimate and enforceable legislation.

The explicit effort of the Catholic bishops to protect the lives of unborn children is as "religiously based" and as threatening to freedom of religion and conscience as were their legislative programs for prison reform, for the right of farm laborers to organize, for recognition of conscientious objection, for racial justice, and for an end to the Vietnam War.

As for their "massive contributions" to the NCHLA, these amount to about \$280,000 this year: half a cent per Catholic; an average contribution of \$1,590 per diocese; less than one half of one per cent of what they budget for Catholic Charities alone, not to mention health care, inner-city schools, overseas relief, etc.

And as for the Catholics imposing a minority view on the nation, this is nonsense. It is well known—at least it should be well known to scholars who do their homework—that the elected legislatures and executives of 46 States chose laws restricting abortion, and that in every single statewide referendum held on this issue the people rejected abortion on demand. A clear majority of Americans have expressed the opinion that: 1) human life begins at conception or at quickening, and the unborn are persons before birth; 2) there should be legal restraints on abortion; 3) abortion should be lawful if the mother's health is endangered or if the child will likely be deformed, but not if the child is simply unwanted; 4) abortion should in any case be unlawful after the third month; 5) it should also be unlawful without the husband's consent; 6) and it should be lawful only in hospitals. Each of these views is held invariably by a majority of both Catholics and non-Catholics, both men and women, as shown in surveys commissioned by pro-abortionists and conducted by Gallup before and after the Court decisions of 1973. It is these views that had been embodied in State laws. This is no Catholic peculiarity.

Catholics have no unanimity of opinion about abortion, morally or politically. In fact they disagree strenuously among themselves. What they do agree on is what the majority of Americans agree on with them: that unborn children are not to be sacrificed at the whim of their elders.

Those Catholics who disagree with the decision imposed by the Court, who prefer to live according to the national will as expressed by the common law and the statutes of the States, who are willing to put their convictions to the proof by working to amend the Constitution, which would require a more massive consent than any other undertaking in the American political process—these Catholics are understandably exasperated and injured when accused of being a backward minority coercively imposing their religious structures on an unwilling country. The accusation is simply bigotry, and "A Call to Concern" is infected with it.

If American leaders of all religious and humanitarian persuasions succeed in rallying the massive public support needed for a constitutional amendment which would leave the Congress and States free once again to enact publicly desired laws protecting the unborn, it is they who will be serving the public will, in supporting a policy which already at this time enjoys a very wide "social base of consensus."

5. *We call upon leaders of religious groups supporting abortion rights to speak out more clearly and publicly in response to the dangerously increasing influence of the absolutist position.* There may be some ecumenical risks in such candor, but those risks have already been assumed by those who have pressed the absolutist position on religious grounds. In the long run, the true test of ecumenical authenticity is the ability to sustain dialogue and friendship in spite of sharp disagreements on matters of substance.

A "Call to Concern" is a political statement by ethical scholars. Ethically, it simply fails to address what is a serious ethical position: that the unborn deserve protection of their rights as do we all, and that the laws of the land ought not allow them to be put to death for our convenience. Politically, it vilifies those who strive in the political process to win recognition of a widely held human and civil right. In any case, this manifesto hardly represents the best that ethical scholars can contribute to this or any other national debate. It is not fair. It is not generous. It is not true.

James T. Burtchaell, C.S.C.
Professor of Theology
University of Notre Dame

(Continued from p. 269)

There is no question that the State of Israel deserves to be preserved and should enjoy peace and good relations with all its neighbors. However, this can hardly be expected as long as this newcomer to the region injures the pride and life of the people who were always there (never mind 2,000 years ago!). The times when a tribe like the Canaanites could be destroyed and replaced, as they were by the Moses-led desert tribe the first time they came to the Promised Land, are over in the 20th century.

The marvelous civilization the Israelis developed cannot alone be justification for another and final disregard of the Palestinians' wishes for self-determination, a people who in history always were ignored and never asked what *they* wanted, who were always manipulated, by the Turks, by the British and even by their Arab neighbors.

FELIX SPIELMAN
New York, N.Y.

TO THE EDITOR: I feel compelled to express my deep appreciation for the dialogue-article by Robert Lekachman. My appreciation is heightened by my lack of appreciation for the highly uncivil exchange earlier this year between two persons on opposite sides of the Arab-Israeli issue. Civility may not be the ultimate virtue when life and death issues are involved but without it and the accompanying willingness to assume that persons with differing perspectives de-

serve respectful consideration, dialogue is a waste of time. I understand the frustrations felt by the opponents in the earlier exchange. But expressions of frustration, exasperation and self-righteousness do not constitute serious discussion.

The statements of Robert Lekachman reflect a highly mature capacity to transcend personal prejudice and to see issues from both sides. . . . May there be more discussion at this level, both in C&C and in the councils of world power!

HARVEY K. MC ARTHUR
The Hartford Seminary Foundation
Hartford, Conn.

Reply

The central issue with which I wrestled was the terrible difficulty of reconciling justice for the Palestinians with the survival and security of Israel. I must say to both Mr. Hanauer and Mr. Spielman that so long as the PLO threatens Israeli survival, it is unlikely that Palestinian rights will receive a fair hearing not only among Israelis but among American Jews as well. There is much to dispute in Mr. Hanauer's version of history, but here my disagreements are subordinate to the overriding dilemma of somehow establishing a Palestinian "entity" or state without destroying the only democracy, however flawed, in the Middle East.

Naturally, I was delighted by Mr. McArthur's letter.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

From the author of
Diet for a Small Planet

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about world hunger."
—SUSAN SECHLER, *Washington Post*

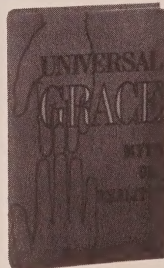
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Dear Cesar Chavez:

WE HAVE NEVER met. Yet I am one of a host of people you do not know whose lives have been profoundly influenced by you and by La Causa.

On the surface it seemed unlikely. But by not eating grapes or lettuce in response to calls to boycott, simple acts which cost us nothing, we became participants, however minor, in a struggle for dignity. You created a process which enriched us all.

Illuminating moments remain in our collective memory. We recall the 25-day march from Delano to Sacramento that swelled along the way until thousands of farmworkers and supporters poured into the state capital on Easter Sunday 1966. You had to hobble with the aid of a cane because of a badly swollen leg.

There was the time when you and Chris Hartmire (who has documented the struggle so movingly in these pages) and a group of workers were dragged away in chains from one peaceful demonstration.

We remember the mass that ended your 25-day fast in 1968 when the Delano grape strike seemed endless. Robert Kennedy offered you bread on that occasion.

We have been challenged by the United Farm Workers' dedication to nonviolence in the face of endless provocation from growers, police and goon squads of rival unions, and by the deep spirituality that sustained you and those closest to you in the darkest days.

The drive for human rights goes on for those in the fields of California and other parts of the nation. Many of the key organizations in the civil rights movement that began when you did have disappeared or changed tactics. We have watched the UFW taste the bitter and the sweet, losing on Proposition 14 on

last November's ballot but finally defeating the powerful Teamsters in the fields this spring.

Your significance, as a person and as a symbol of justice for the poor, certainly reaches far beyond these shores. Your name was mentioned more than once at the Sixth Assembly of the Christian Conference of Asia (CCA) held recently in Penang, West Malaysia. You would have approved of the theme: "Jesus Christ in Asian Suffering and Hope." At Penang an outstanding Korean Christian who fights against oppression in his country as you do here told me that the simplified story of your life is one of his children's favorite books.

For all these reasons and more, what you do and say makes an impact. Thus it is not surprising that some of your supporters here in Washington were shocked to discover that during a two-week visit to the Philippines in late July and early August you accepted an award from President Ferdinand Marcos, who rules the Philippines by martial law. Reports indicate it was "for services to the trade union movement."

You were also quoted in the Manila press to the effect that President Marcos' "sincerity comes through for the workers. The martial law administration is unique. It's different in terms of the American concept of martial law. I didn't believe it from Filipino friends who told me until I got here."

The Washington Post reported that you received a strong welcome from the Government and its union supporters but that your visit was "criticized by anti-government union leaders and community organizers."

UFW spokesmen tell me that you have had a long-standing invitation to visit the Philippines as you did Mexico. They point out that somewhere between 30,000 and 50,000 Filipinos are California farmworkers. They said the finances for the trip and the itinerary were arranged by Andy Imutan, himself a Filipino. He works with Filipino farmworkers in Stockton.

I have read that Filipino farmworkers started the Delano strike in 1965. Several people close to your work through the years say that while the UFW has often worked closely with the Filipino farmworker groups you have long wanted to have greater Filipino participation within the UFW.

The problem apparently arises from the circumstance that Andy Imutan and most of the Filipinos are strong supporters of President Marcos. Your spokes-

—Homosexuality Reprints—

The response to our special issue on homosexuality (May 30–June 13) has all but exhausted our supply of extra copies. In view of the continuing interest we expect to reprint the issue, but before submitting the print order we hope to have indications from our readers of the number of copies that will be required. If you expect to need a supply, please send your order to: C&C Reprints, 537 W. 121st Street, New York, N. Y. 10027. Reprint prices: 1–10 copies @ \$1.20; 11–99 copies @ 70¢; 100 or more @ 55¢.

men report that there was widespread joy among the Filipinos that you went. It is not surprising that if you went to the Philippines the people you would be placed in touch with would be pro-Marcos.

But I—and others I know—are sorry you went. We feel that you have been used by a regime which stands for everything you are against.

Let me offer just a few examples from what could be a very long list.

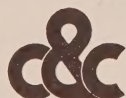
You are a devout Roman Catholic. So are 85 percent of the Filipino population of 43 million people. An additional 5 percent are Protestant. Nothing threatens the Marcos regime more than the strong Christian resistance to martial law. In their recently issued report, "The Decline of Democracy in the Philippines," three distinguished jurists from the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) discuss the November 1976 decision by the Government to crack down on religious opposition. The Government had already closed religious newspapers and radio stations and invaded religious compounds. At this time it released, in what the ICJ report calls "a sinister and bizarre form," the names of 155 people it called communists. Of these, 126 were priests. Four were bishops, including Francisco Claver and Julio Labayan, the two prelates most

clearly identified with the poor in the Philippines. Besides publishing this list, the Government detained 75 other persons and charged them with rebellion and sedition.

Crushing the Unions

The strike has been a major instrument in your work. Presidential Decree No. 823, issued in late 1975, prohibits all strikes in the Philippines. Wildcat strikes have been brutally disrupted by military force. It was the final blow in what the ICJ report calls the "narrowing" of the rights of labor. Two prominent labor leaders, attorney Hermon C. Lagman and Victor Reyes, were picked up by the military on May 11. They have not been heard from since. If alive, they are almost certainly in the notorious "safe houses," where the most brutal torture takes place.

The much-touted land reform program, designed to help the poorest of Filipinos, the landless laborers, is a sham. Father Edward Gerlock, a Maryknoll priest who worked with the Federation of Free Farmers until he was deported for trying to organize the poor, says that only "two to three percent of all agricultural lands are covered by land reform. Even then, land reform in these areas is negligible. This kind of reform



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has no practical effect and it would take 500 years to have any effect at all." The ICJ jurists were more restrained. They quote an observer's estimate that at the current rate of title transfer "the goals desired would not be achieved for approximately 60 years."

Finally, torture is an increasingly well documented instrument of government policy. Even the sanitized human rights reports by the State Department admit that it continues to occur. Amnesty International has most convincingly documented this, and calls the practice "widespread" and "part of a general approach to the treatment of suspects." A recent letter slipped from inside Camp Bicutan says that eight out of every ten political prisoners brought there after 1975 have been tortured.

The most famous recent case involved Trinidad Herrera, president of Zone One Tondo Organization and representative of hundreds of thousands of poor squatters in Manila. She was given shock treatment upon her arrest in May and suffered severe disorientation. International reaction and American intervention—plus the loss of as much as \$8 million in



arms aid from the US—led to her release.

Against the advice of some people concerned about her, she pressed charges against her torturers. For more than a month the trial of two junior officers went on, but Trinidad Herrera was the true defendant, under brutal attack at all times by the defense attorneys. In late August the officers were found not guilty. The defense attorney called Herrera a "communist," a word often used against you—unsuccessfully. Now she faces her own trial on charges of subversion.

Philippine hospitality has few peers. It has been the strategy of Marcos to hide the harsh realities of martial law by presenting a gracious face to the world. In recent years he has brought to Manila the Muhammed Ali-Joe Frazier fight ("the thrilla in Manila"), the Miss Universe contest, the World Bank-IMF annual meeting, the Group of 77, the World Food Council and, in August, the World Peace Through Law conference. However unwittingly you went, without question Marcos numbers you among the greatest prizes he has brought to the Philippines.

A Costly Gesture

An Asian friend visiting here recently put it this way: "Cesar Chavez has been a great inspiration to people in Asia struggling as he is for justice. And now he has been used by Marcos. I think the staff must be at fault. They should have investigated the situation more so he would understand why he should not go. It's all very sad."

These then are some of the reasons why I feel, with all respect, that your trip was a mistake. Whatever important gains may accrue to the UFW from closer relationships within the organization, the cost has been too high.

Some of us have firsthand knowledge of the courage and suffering and determination of Filipinos who oppose the Marcos dictatorship because in the end it denies them their birthright. We have been inspired by them as we have by you. In an address to the CCA Assembly on the theme of suffering and hope, Bishop Labayen put it best:

For me the most important signs of hope are the people everywhere in Asia "who hunger and thirst for justice." Those who think things out for themselves and decide to do what is right and good in spite of the opposition of the powerful. Especially the poor of the slums who organize their own people's organizations to struggle for a decent life. Or poor farmers or plantation workers or factory workers, or oppressed minority groups.

The government of Ferdinand Marcos labels this man subversive.

It has not been easy to write this letter. But it seems essential to say publicly why one person feels both the farmworkers in this country and those who oppose martial law in the Philippines make a claim on his conscience.

LEON HOWELL

NCC Unit "Saddened"

As this issue of C&C went to press, the Division of Church and Society of the National Council of Churches adopted a resolution expressing "disappointment and sadness" over the acceptance by Cesar Chavez of an award from the Philippines government. The resolution also expressed "concern" over Chavez' reported statements favorable to the Marcos regime.

NCC sources said the resolution was adopted after intense debate, reflecting the Division's longtime commitment to the United Farm Workers as well as its condemnation of human rights violations in the Philippines. The resolution asked Chavez to clarify his position on the Marcos regime and urged both the NCC Governing Board and the National Farm Workers Ministry to study the situation in the Philippines.

Preaching Freedom, Investing in Oppression

US Policy in Southern Africa

George Houser

LATE IN THE 1976 Presidential campaign, candidate Jimmy Carter gave an interview to South Africa's leading business publication, *The Financial Mail*, sounding the key themes of what was to become his southern Africa policy. In that interview, Carter called for an end to Kissinger-style one-man diplomacy, for majority rule "with the protection of minority rights," and for greater US coordination of its efforts with those of other countries with interests in the region, particularly Britain.

Of all his comments, however, the most interesting to US observers of the African scene were those regarding the role of US business as an element of foreign policy.

Asked whether he would actively encourage private lending and corporate activity in South Africa, Carter answered, "Yes, indeed. . . . Economic development, investment commitment and the use of economic leverage against what is, after all, a government system of repression within South Africa, seems to me the *only way to achieve racial justice there*" (my emphasis).

Carter thus found himself in accord with former administrations which, while taking an officially neutral stance on investment in white-ruled states, had in reality encouraged business ties through such actions as the establishment of commercial consulates and support of Export-Import Bank financing.

In the months since he has taken office, Carter has without doubt made important changes in US policy toward southern Africa, according it more attention than it has received in any similar period of other administrations with the possible exception of the latter phase of the Ford-Kissinger era. There have been clear statements of opposition to apartheid, strong moves to assert US leadership on various issues including Namibia, and a move away from a narrow cold war view of the region. These changes have been applauded by African leaders and by Americans both sympathetic to African aspirations and eager to see negotiated solutions to the area's problems.

GEORGE HOUSER, a previous contributor, is Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa.

On the crucial issue of US business involvement in southern Africa, however—crucial because it is the chief basis of US interest in the region and the major channel of US involvement—Carter and his Administration have not only continued to express established attitudes of sympathy but in fact have gone beyond prior administrations in perceiving US business interests as an actual agent of change.

Given this situation, it is no surprise that in the eyes of those supporting and participating in the liberation movements the Carter Administration is perceived as basically no different from its predecessors: in its public pronouncements a self-proclaimed champion of human rights, but in practice a defender of limited change that will not jeopardize its business interests.

Policy-Making. US policy is no longer dominated by one person as it was during the Kissinger era. UN Ambassador Andrew Young, Vice President Walter Mondale and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance have all made major policy statements on southern Africa. In addition, many behind-the-scenes old-line Africa hands have been replaced with far more liberal experts. Such persons have made it clear that it is a matter of pride with the Carter Administration that it is working out a new policy, a factor that itself operates as an inducement to change.

Andrew Young told a UN conference in Maputo, Mozambique last May that new US policies "represent something of a revolution in the consciousness of the American people. . . . A revolution that has taken place throughout the United States of America." Secretary Vance said in a speech to an NAACP conference in July that "Africa matters very much to the United States. This is a fact more and more Americans are coming to understand."

Stronger Stance on Apartheid

South Africa. The United States through various administrations has spoken about apartheid many times at the UN and elsewhere. However, toward the end of his tenure Kissinger was very careful not to deal with the internal policy of apartheid in discus-

sions with Prime Minister Hendrik Vorster or other South African officials. Kissinger approached South Africa as perhaps the most important agent for change in Rhodesia and Namibia. The question was always raised, however, as to what secret deals the US might be making with South Africa in exchange for this pressure.

In contrast Mondale made clear in his talks with Vorster in Vienna that the US would not bargain with South Africa regarding the apartheid issue. He said in his press conference following the discussions, "We hope South Africans will not rely on any illusions that the United States will in the end intervene to save South Africa from the policies it is pursuing, for we will not do so."

Mondale said, "We think apartheid is discriminatory, and a full political participation by all of its citizens on an equal basis is essential to the transformation that would be a prerequisite to a stable South Africa and to the best possible relations with this country." Indicating that Vorster had rejected the concept of full participation, he added, "If South Africa persists in its ideology our paths will diverge and our policies come into conflict."

Secretary Vance made much the same points in his July speech to the NAACP:

Some have argued that apartheid in South Africa should be ignored for the time being in order to concentrate on achieving progress in Rhodesia and Namibia. Such a policy would be wrong and would not work. It would be blind to the reality that the beginning of progress must be made soon within South Africa if there is to be a possibility of peaceful solutions in the longer run. It would mislead the South Africans about our real concerns. It would prejudice our relations with our African friends. It would do a disservice to our own beliefs. And it would discourage those of all races who are working for peaceful progress within South Africa.

Zimbabwe. For the most part the Carter Administration has continued along the lines of a Kissinger policy calling for close cooperation with the British in seeking a negotiated settlement. This position has been maintained even though the Patriotic Front, made up of the two leading liberation forces, has rejected the idea of any big-power-orchestrated settlement. However, there have been some departures from past attitudes, the most notable of which involved repeal of the Byrd amendment permitting US importation of Rhodesian chrome in violation of UN-voted sanctions.

The Nixon-Ford administrations both took a theoretical position favoring the amendment's repeal. However, as has been well documented, under neither of those Presidents did the White House use any

muscle to try to end US sanctions-breaking activities. The Carter Administration not only announced that it would work to repeal the amendment but it actually used its influence to achieve this goal, including testimony by Secretary Vance before Congress.

It also supported the idea of altering the Zimbabwe Development Fund worked out by Kissinger in consultation with the British, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and South Africa's Vorster. The original intent of the fund was to provide an incentive for Europeans to stay in an independent Zimbabwe or perhaps to aid them in leaving. Vice President Mondale has suggested weighting the plan more toward a development fund, a proposal that found favor with Congress. (Final action has yet to be taken on the measure. The issue of which other southern Africa countries ought to be included in aid provisions of the fund has prompted considerable debate.) In essence, of course, the attitude implicit in both plans is the same: Stability is of paramount importance, and by US definition that implies a continuation of present economic arrangements.

More Pressure for Namibia

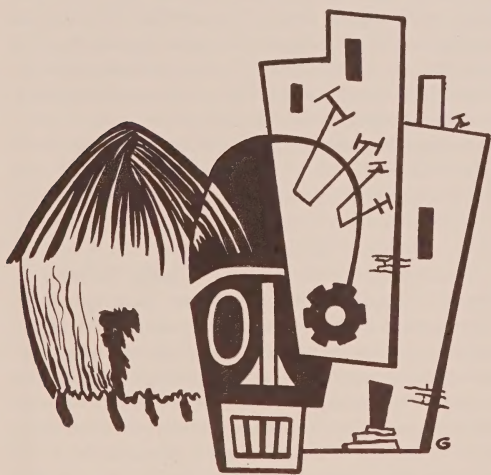
Namibia. The US took the initiative in organizing a "contact group" consisting of five Western members of the UN Security Council, for meetings with officials of South Africa—which continues to hold power illegally in Namibia—and with the top leadership of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)—recognized by the UN and the Organization of African States as the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people. Before meeting with the group of five, South Africa had insisted it would proceed with the plans for independence set forth in the Turnhalle talks, a constitutional convention orchestrated by South Africa with the aim of maintaining effective white control through the setting up of a government constituted according to ethnic groupings.

According to US participants, South Africa agreed as a result of the talks to some sort of UN involvement, including the presence of a special representative. South Africa reportedly conceded that all persons and parties, including SWAPO, would be free to participate in elections prior to independence. Agreement on these and other issues, nevertheless, seems far from realized at this point.

United Nations. The participation of the US in the UN Conference on Solidarity with the People of Zimbabwe and Namibia in Maputo represented a clear break with prior US attitudes. For many years the US has not participated in the Decolonization Committee or other UN committees dealing with

southern African liberation issues, finding it too embarrassing always to be the subject of attack at such gatherings.

By coincidence Andrew Young assumed the presidency of the UN Security Council in March, only weeks after his appointment as US Ambassador to the UN, when the issue to be debated was South Africa's apartheid policy. Instead of assuming the usual passive US role, he took the initiative in developing a Western approach to this perennial debate by campaigning for a consensus resolution of a statement of principles summarizing the US attitude toward South Africa. This was aimed at bypassing resolutions demanding economic and military sanctions, which most of the non-Western states were expected to promote. The strategy was successful in circumventing the African resolutions (on the grounds of "Let's



give Andy a chance"), but it did not get the US statement of principles adopted.

The Cold War. The Administration has at least dulled cold war rhetoric on issues involving southern Africa. In his NAACP speech Secretary Vance disputed those who argue that the US must support white governments in southern Africa regardless of their internal policies because they are anti-communist. "In fact," Vance said, "the continued denial of racial justice in southern Africa encourages the possibilities for outside intervention."

Vice President Mondale had said much the same thing in Vienna. "The message to the South African Government is clear. . . . They know that we believe that perpetuating an unjust system is the surest incentive to increase Soviet influence and even racial war."

Perhaps the prime example of this new policy at work occurred during the Zaire-Katanga conflict in Shaba province. The administration announced that the US would not send lethal material to Zaire, at the same time indicating that it did not have evidence of Cuban, Russian or Angolan participation in the conflict.

Secretary Vance commented on that situation:

When such crises as the recent invasion of Zaire arise, we see no advantage in unilateral responses and emphasizing their East-West implications. We prefer to work with African nations—and with our European allies—in positive efforts to resolve such disputes. . . . [T]he history of the past 15 years suggests that efforts by outside powers to dominate African nations will fail.

Liberation Movements. More initiatives have been taken under the Carter Administration than ever before, particularly by Andrew Young, to meet with representatives of liberation movements. It is also significant that the Administration recently invited President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania to Washington. For many years President Nyerere had been shunned by US administrations because of his espousal of socialist policies and particularly because of his active support of liberation movements in Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

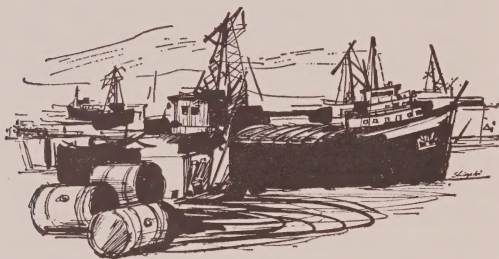
South Africa is the Key

The altered policies of the Administration offer opportunities to question a number of specific US responses: whether the US is still relying too heavily on Britain's peacemaking efforts in Zimbabwe, whether the US is being sufficiently aggressive in its efforts to achieve majority rule in Namibia, whether there is still too much of a cold-war mentality evident in the US attitude toward Mozambique and Angola.

But any assessment of US policy in southern Africa must of necessity focus on the Republic of South Africa for several reasons. First, South Africa is the key to southern Africa, because of its location in the region and because its economic and military power give it great influence over the course of events in neighboring states. Second, because of its power and wealth South Africa offers the most probable occasion for dangerous big power intervention in the region. Third, South Africa is the principal US trading partner in Africa. Last year the US was South Africa's number one source of imports, while it continued to buy large amounts of South Africa's vital mineral resources. US investment of at least \$1.58 billion in the Republic represents about 17 percent of all foreign investment there, and about 400 US companies currently do business there.

Beyond these economic ties two other items significantly affect the US perception of South Africa: (1) the role of South Africa in US defense strategy; and (2) the fact that because race has been the fundamental problem of both South Africa and American society, black and white Americans share a deep personal concern about the outcome of events there.

Given the importance of South Africa in the world context and the extent of the US-South Africa relationship, one must then look for the point at which the



US enjoys the greatest opportunity to influence events in South Africa and observe what use is being made of the opportunity.

That point is clearly economic. President Carter spelled this out in his *Financial Mail* interview when in response to a query as to how great he believed US influence to be, he answered, "Very great. Our economic presence in South Africa gives us a greater influence on that government than its government has over Rhodesia, for example."

Past performance, however, suggests that America's business-based positive influence for change—if indeed there is one—has been minimal in alleviating conditions of injustice.

Between 1970 and 1975, for example, as US corporate investment in South Africa doubled, the gap between average white and black monthly household income increased from \$362 to \$546. On an individual company basis, an article in *The Wall Street Journal* last March 16 quoted the managing director of US-owned Caltex Oil S.A. Ltd. as saying on the subject of discrimination, "My company doesn't want me to break the law and go to jail." The article said the company was not opposed to change, however; among other things, it planned "to take down toilet segregation signs someday."

In this context, many responsible South Africans have in the past urged a withdrawal of foreign enterprise. Among them is Fatima Meer, president of the Black Women's Federation and one of about 1,000 people who were detained in the months following last year's disturbances. She has said, "The apartheid government grows stronger by the day because of its

solvency, which it gets from foreign investors. If the Government had an economic shock, things might begin to change."

Many church groups in South Africa have taken a similar position. The Christian Institute said in a statement last year that "investment in South Africa is investment in apartheid, and this is immoral, unjust and exploitative. . . . The argument that economic growth can produce fundamental change has proven false."

Mammon as Redeemer

In spite of such statements, however, the Administration has continued to push the idea that business, including US business, can be the chief force for change in South Africa and elsewhere in the region. The most consistent proponent of this view has been Andrew Young. In some of his off-the-cuff remarks Young may be speaking strictly his own mind, but it is clear that on the matter of US policy toward Africa he is deeply involved in the policy-making process and is intended as one of its chief spokesmen.

Young's key role has been stressed by high State Department officials in private conversations. It has also been publicly acknowledged by Secretary Vance as "contributing so well to the design and effectiveness of our policies abroad."

Throughout a visit to Africa in May, Young continually sounded economic themes. In a speech to businessmen in Johannesburg, he said, "Out of my experiences I've come to think of the business community as in many respects being the key to [the] hope . . . for South Africans to live together as brothers and with the rest of the world as brothers." He went on to state his belief that the most social change in the world is going on in "free market countries." Young also held out the hope that with changes in its attitudes South Africa could capitalize on markets throughout black Africa.

Young made repeated references to his civil rights experiences as applicable to southern Africa. After a lunch that he and Dr. Martin Luther King had had one day in Birmingham with two corporate presidents, he recalled that policies were changed, a committee of 100 businessmen was formed, and those men negotiated "the end of apartheid in Birmingham, Alabama in spite of the fact that on the books of law it was still illegal to desegregate anything." He added, "When blacks became a part of the free market system in the South, not only did that system not explode, but blacks had very much at stake in it."

The effect of the policies advocated by Young is to preserve more or less as it is the US economic and strategic stake in South Africa. It allows business

interests to remain undisturbed, feeling that they can continue to make profits and still be a force for change. Further, the implication of these policies is that if only the business community would take the lead in the process of change, the transformation to majority rule can come peacefully.

The trouble with this view is that it does not come to grips with the dynamics involved in the southern Africa struggle. The civil rights struggle in the US was not essentially revolutionary. It was aimed against discrimination and segregation. The ownership of property and the control of industry were not basically at stake. Considered in this light, the civil rights struggle in the US was much more akin to past eras in southern Africa such as that which existed in South Africa before the Sharpeville massacre in 1960. Until then, black political organizations were permitted to exist and were able to carry out nonviolent strategies.

Leslie O. Harriman, Nigeria's Ambassador to the UN, explicitly rejected the notion of a similarity between the US and southern African struggles in commenting on Young's remarks at the UN conference in Maputo. "We are not talking about improving the lot of Africans," Ambassador Harriman said. "We are talking about liberation."

The aim and intention of the liberation movements in southern Africa is now the transformation of the old system in its entirety. Faced with a political situation in which all efforts at peaceful change have been met with increased repression, and with an economic structure that does not simply exploit blacks but is constructed on the principle of race superiority, Africans are now determined to achieve—using whatever means necessary—a society vastly different from that which now exists.

The Necessity of Choosing

If US policy is to be relevant to that struggle, it cannot cling to the naive notion that international economic forces are, or can be expected to be, agents of change. At most such forces will bring a certain number of Africans into the existing system, perpetuating thereby a degree of Western control that cannot help but result in continued internal and potentially international conflict.

A different policy is essential. The US Government must use all economic measures at its disposal, including arms and economic embargoes and an end to all loans and US investment, to bring about the demise of white-minority regimes. A growing number of US church groups, universities and unions have demonstrated their belief in the appropriateness of such responses by themselves withdrawing funds from banks doing business in South Africa and by pressing,

through stockholder resolutions and other means, for a cessation of all business ties between the US and Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia.

Further, while working vigorously to achieve negotiated settlements in southern Africa as the most desirable way of ending current conflicts, the US must also give positive encouragement to the liberation movements. These movements' actions, including armed struggle, represent decisions made by those who for many years have been the recognized leaders in liberation efforts. Equally important, they serve as a compelling reason for action at the conference table.

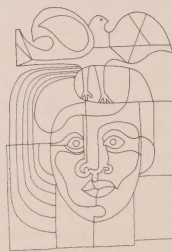
For the Carter Administration to preach its belief in majority rule and human rights while failing to take the steps open to it to achieve these stated ends is to delude the American people, to attempt to delude the Africans, and to contribute to a climate likely to lead to further escalation of existing violence. It is also to guarantee that when black majority liberation governments come into power, as they surely will, the US will once again find itself perceived as having backed a discredited oppressor at the expense of both its long-term interests and its own moral self-image. □

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A C&C SYMPOSIUM

PAYING FOR ABORTION: IS THE COURT WRONG?

After its landmark decision in Roe v. Wade (1973), the effect of which was to legalize the practice of abortion, this year the United States Supreme Court addressed issues relating to government funding and the use of tax-supported facilities for abortion. In three related cases (Poelker v. Doe, Maher v. Roe and Beal v. Doe), the Court ruled that neither Congress nor the states are constitutionally obliged to provide abortions at no cost or at reduced cost for women unable to pay for treatment from their own resources. Since the Court did not forbid such payments, the effect of its decisions was to leave the funding issue to the legislatures.

Participants in the following symposium provide a range of responses to the legal, social and ethical

questions they perceive in these decisions. Roger Shinn, a Contributing Editor, teaches social ethics and is counselor to graduate students at Union Theological Seminary (NYC). Howard Moody, also a Contributing Editor, is senior minister at Judson Memorial Church, New York City. Richard A. McCormick, S.J., is Rose F. Kennedy Professor of Christian Ethics at the Kennedy Institute, Georgetown University. Sidney Callahan teaches child psychology and is the author of Parenting: Principles and Politics of Parenthood. Her article is reprinted, with permission, from the Hastings Center Report, August, 1977. © 1977 Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences, 360 Broadway, Hastings-on-Hudson, N. Y. 10706.

ROGER SHINN

DECISIONS on whether government should pay for abortions are up to Congress and the state legislatures. That is the latest Supreme Court ruling on this subject.

Many elected officials had hoped that the Court would take them off the hook. But the Court said: You must decide. That action of the Court, throwing open a decision charged with emotion, puts a strain on the processes of government. It causes anguish. But, in a society that claims to be democratic, the legislative arena is where the decision belongs.

The situation is unexpected only because in a quite recent history the Supreme Court has been an innovative force in American life. On several issues—notably racial justice, conscientious objection to war, representation (one person, one vote)—it made changes that Congress had been unwilling to make.

That has not been the usual American story. Abraham Lincoln, condemning the Dred Scott decision, and Franklin Roosevelt, struggling against a Supreme Court that knocked down important parts of the New Deal, did not expect the Court to be a force for progressive change.

But for a few years—utterly important years in American history—the “Warren court” was an innovative force. There were two reasons: (1) The country had strayed from—in fact, had never practiced—the Constitution and Bill of Rights in some important areas. So the Court could legitimately uphold the rights of minorities against majorities and their elected representatives. That is an essential function of the judicial branch of the government. (2) The Warren court with a notable courage and sensitivity matched particular national needs with a particular mood in the Court.

Yet the functioning of the Supreme Court as an innovator must be regarded, for the most part, as an aberration. The Court looks for guidance to a 200-year-old Constitution and to judicial precedents. Congress looks to the will of the people today. Hence, in the logic of the case it would seem normal to expect innovation from Congress and restraint from the Court. It is abnormal to democracy for innovators to try through the Court to bring about changes that the people and their representatives do not endorse.

I say this as one who rejoiced in most of the decisions of the Warren court and who supported judicial innovations. After trying with absolutely no effect to persuade a Senate Committee to broaden legal protection of selective conscientious objectors, I joined the efforts of the American Civil Liberties

Union—with a little more hope but with no more success—to persuade the Supreme Court to do what Congress would not do.

I do not regret that effort; I think there was a constitutional basis for it. But I must acknowledge that we are now back to a more normal situation. Those of us who want change must, in most cases, persuade the public and legislators to bring it about.

It is not persuasive to argue that this decision on abortion represents the peculiar conservatism of a court with three justices appointed by Richard Nixon and one by Gerald Ford. The same Court ruled unanimously against Nixon on Watergate issues. Obviously the current Court is more conservative than the Warren court; but in this decision it was simply doing what courts usually do.

The decision is not *legally* surprising. The earlier decision of January 22, 1973 affirmed a woman's right to abortion in the first trimester on very narrow constitutional grounds: the balance between the *implicit* "right of privacy" in the 14th Amendment and the interest of the state in "protecting potential life." The latest decision says that the Constitution permits but does not require state or federal governments to finance abortions. The combined effect is quite parallel to many situations, e.g., the Constitution guarantees to me and everybody else the rights of a free press, but does not require government to subsidize the press.

However, what is legally consistent is politically and morally unstable. A constitutional right, available to some and not to others, is ethically troubling. Not that it is unusual. I have just mentioned freedom of the press; I could add the right to own a home, to travel abroad, to drive a car, to get children's teeth straightened. In particular, the right to "privacy" has always been a privilege of wealth. Political equality, guaranteed by the Constitution, always depends in part upon some approximation of economic equality, not guaranteed by the Constitution. But in the particular case of abortion the demand of some desperate people is so intense and so personal that a society cannot ethically deny to them what is easily available to others—or, to state an alternative, lead them to do illegally and dangerously what others will do legally and safely.

I am not one of those who rejoice that this is the sort of society in which government has been funding 300,000 abortions per year. But I find morally intolerable the present inequality of access to abortion.

Legislative change will come at the cost of tension that our already tense society is not well equipped to handle. Passions run high on this issue. On the one hand, anguished women see a right, available to those with money or those on the other side of a state border, denied to themselves. On the other hand,

people object to subsidizing with their taxes actions that they believe to be murder. Those views are not easily harmonized.

It would be much more convenient if the Supreme Court would settle the issue rather than throw it into the legislative process. But only a hyper-elitist theory of government can ask for an appointed Court to become a super-Congress, making the decisions that strain to the breaking point the capacities of elected legislatures.

Those of us who want a change will have to work for it. Apparently most of the public agree with the present situation. A *New York Times*/CBS News poll shows the public supporting (64 percent–26 percent) public financial help for a poor woman having a baby, but opposing (55–38) such help for abortions. I expect public opinion to change—for the not very ethical reason that middle-class and wealthy people don't want poor people having a lot of babies. Hence I would like to see the churches raise the quality, but not the feverishness, of the public debate.

Change will require a job of education and politics amid conflicting beliefs. In a democracy that is what education and politics are about.

Howard Moody

THERE IS NOT AN INSTITUTION in American life that so regularly woos us with its wisdom and then offends us with its ignorance as the United States Supreme Court. For the supporters of free choice in the matter of abortion the 1973 decision on a woman's right to choose whether to have a baby was one of the most brilliantly informed and best documented decisions the Court had ever made. To those same supporters the recent decision on the obligation of the state to pay for abortions of women who cannot afford them the Court now appears discriminatory, unjust and dumb.

The Court, and those who agreed with its crippling blow to freedom of choice, said that this decision in no way reversed or even altered the 1973 decision (*Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton*) on abortion. Rather it was simply a clarification that nothing in the Constitution of the United States compelled a state to *pay* for the abortions of those women who, by standards already set, were too impoverished to pay for *any* medical procedures. We are to believe that this decision in no way abrogated a woman's free choice to have an abortion.

Only the legalistic or the academic could manage such a conclusion. "Freedom of speech" means very

little if you are too hungry to talk. "Freedom to choose" means nothing to a woman who doesn't have the money to implement her choice. One of the major arguments in the 1973 decision was that the old abortion laws (all of them state statutes) were grossly inequitable in their effects. For whether a given statute forbade abortion outright or discouraged it with tight restrictions, the reality was that women with means got safe abortions but poor women got *unsafe* abortions, as was reflected in their disproportionate mortality and morbidity rates. The recent decision puts poor minority women right where they were before, but with an ironic twist: Whereas before 1973 it was *illegal* and *impossible* for poor women to get safe abortions, now it will be *legal* but *impossible*.

No Comfort from Carter

I doubt that many of these victims will be comforted by the out-of-character and inconsistent consolation offered by President Carter when, confronted with the unjust burden on certain women in our society, he replied, "A lot of things in life are not fair." When Carter was made aware of the plight of Soviet political dissidents and of the tortured prisoners of Brazil, he might as easily have offered the same message of philosophical resignation; instead he responded to the oppressors with a thundering advocacy of human rights. If someone is offended that I compare a poor woman with an unwanted pregnancy in a free country with a political prisoner in a dictatorship, I would reply that there is no human right more precious to a woman than the right to choose and effect the time of her childbearing, and conversely that there is no law so oppressive and no economic policy so dehumanizing as that which consigns the poor woman to involuntary servitude in behalf of an unwanted burden for unnumbered years of her life.

Why did the Court see fit to single out the particular medical procedure of abortion and say that the state could not be compelled by anything in the Constitution to pay for it? What about tonsillectomies, most hysterectomies or even unnecessary surgery of any kind? Is it because abortion is really an *elective* procedure like a nose job or a face-lift or even a sex-change operation? Or is it because abortion is a moral and political hot potato for which the Court had suffered much, and a little ledger balancing wouldn't hurt at all? Or, what is even more disconcerting, is it that abortion is immoral or murderous in the minds of many people and should not be paid for with tax monies? By what convoluted logic can we justify the use of tax funds to maintain poor people's drug habits via the free distribution of methadone while denying poor women the means to terminate their pregnan-

cies, even though they are personally unready and unwilling to bear and rear children?

If we are dealing here with straight legalese, then abortion may indeed be called "elective," but even in medical terminology it has always been referred to as a "therapeutic" procedure. No legislator or judge in his/her right mind and in touch with life would claim that abortion is *simply* an elective procedure, the refusal of which will make no physical difference in the life of the pregnant woman. The real message of the Court, accepted by Carter and (according to the Harris poll) by a majority of the public, is that abortion is an unacceptable form of birth control and we must encourage women *not* to have abortions. Now here is the state using its power of persuasion with a vengeance! In other words, if a woman or a teenager in addition to being poor is not sufficiently smart, disciplined or informed to use a contraceptive and use it rightly, then she will have to be taught a lesson by living with the error of her unintended pregnancy at an incalculable personal cost.

How out of character, Mr. Carter! No such punitive chastening was visited upon those who "shacked up" or had extramarital affairs and in other ways failed your moral standards in their sexual behavior. Why should retribution be reserved for this class and condition of women in our society?

This outrage is the more exacerbated by the remembrance that the largest and most vocal supporter of the Court's decision is the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, which stands foursquare against any education in birth control except the kind it calls "natural."

In the 1973 decision the Court stated clearly that it would leave it to the theologians and philosophers to decide when life begins, since the Court's only interest was the safety and preservation of maternal health. The recent decision belies that statement. In fact, it gives to state legislators the power and the right to decide whose maternal health is important by deciding whose abortion will be paid for. The impact will be analogous to what would have happened had the implementation of *Brown v. Board of Education* been left to the states, with the Court declaring that nothing in the Constitution compelled the states to appropriate the money that desegregation would cost.

It is no secret that in this society only our principles and some of our laws are equal and just, while our practices are those of an unequal and unjust two-class nation. The judgment of the Court in its recent decision compounded the injustice for a great many women and drove the wedge deeper between those two worlds. The *only* people who should take comfort in that decision are the illegal practitioners who prey on and profit from the conditions of the poor.

Richard A. McCormick

WHAT SHOULD GOVERNMENT POLICY BE with regard to use of Medicaid funds for elective abortion? How one answers that depends above all on what one thinks is going on where abortion occurs. I do not mean that public policy is simply identifiable with morality. It is not, however, unrelated to it. Concretely, if one believes that the fetus is mere tissue or, even if a living human being, one that need not be evaluated and protected as such, then it seems clear that one would and ought to argue that Medicaid ought to pay for abortions. For on this view, abortion being a justifiable intervention broadly related to health, and one that requires the services of a physician, why not? The exclusion of abortion from funded medical services would seem to be arbitrary. If, however, that is not an adequate account of the moral question, then the matter is much more complicated.

My own view is that of President Carter and Joseph Califano, that Medicaid funds ought not be used for elective abortions. This judgment roots in a conviction about what abortion is. It is the taking of human life, and this ought not to be done except when it is a life-saving and life-serving intervention—though there is room for discussion about what ought to count as abortion (e.g., in the very early, pre-implantation days). On this view, public funding of abortions is, in the vast majority of instances, public support for injustice to the nascent human being. I see that as an assault on the integrity of public policy and as a forfeiture of the educative function of law.

There are two serious objections against this position, but I find neither persuasive. The first is that such a position is an effective denial of the rights of indigents to an abortion asserted in the 1973 *Wade* and *Bolton* decisions. This objection is undermined once we distinguish between the right to be let alone and the right of entitlement. It was the former that was (whether correctly or not) asserted in the 1973 decisions. The fact that one has a right not to be interfered with by no means necessarily implies that one is entitled to public funding when that right is exercised. To confuse these two rights is to preempt legislative judgment.

The second objection is that the negative position is discriminatory against the poor. Even without public funding, the non-indigent can get their abortions. Not so the indigent. This is seen as unfair and as a “distressing insensitivity to the plight of impoverished pregnant women” (Justice William Brennan). I

believe that there is no doubt that indigent mothers are put in a disadvantageous position and one that can be the cause of heavy burdens and much suffering. But that evil has to be weighed against the evil of loss of life in abortions. When we are faced with two evils, we should choose the lesser.

What one sees as the greater or lesser evil depends, of course, on what one thinks of abortion. This is where the basic moral question is again unavoidable. I see the evil of abortion as greater than the very real suffering threatened on the indigent through lack of funding. Speaking of the two types of right (not to be interfered with, entitlement), *The Washington Star* correctly noted: “While the first is fundamental, and protected, the other usually results from society’s exercise of an option—a legislative choice among conflicting values” (June 24). Just so. How these conflicting values are to be weighed returns us to the evaluation of abortion.

I realize that not all Americans agree on this factoring of the conflicting values. But there are indications that the majority do. In a *New York Times*/CBS News Poll, 64 percent of those interviewed thought the government should help a poor woman with her medical bills when she has a baby (26 percent said no). Contrarily, only 38 percent thought the woman should be helped by government funds if she wanted an abortion (55 percent said no). Furthermore, both the House and Senate have taken positions restrictive of public funding for abortions.

Whatever the outcome, the matter of public funding should be returned to the people via legislation. In *Maier v. Roe* (June 20) Justice Lewis Powell argued for the majority that the use of public funds for non-therapeutic abortions is a decision “fraught with judgments of policy and value over which opinions are sharply divided.” He then continued: “When an issue involves policy choices as sensitive as those implicated by public funding of non-therapeutic abortions, the appropriate forum for their resolution in a democracy is the legislature.” I agree with that. (Incidentally, why a similar conclusion was not drawn in the 1973 abortion decisions, I shall never understand. Much as the Supreme Court disowned the notion, it was deeply involved in straightforward legislation, i.e., the resolution of conflicts “fraught with judgments of policy and value.”)

Whatever public policy turns out to be on abortion funding, one thing needs saying. This discussion is very much like the abortion debate itself. A pragmatic and technological society tends to think it solves human problems with permissive (or prohibitive) abortion laws, or with funding (or non-funding) policies. Just as no law is adequate, whether permissive or prohibitive, if it does not simultaneously

contain provisions that attack the problems that tempt to abortion, so no public policy on funding can hope to be humane unless it is accompanied by continued serious efforts to alleviate the conditions that lead to abortion.

Our mistake as a nation is to leave relatively untouched the societal conditions and circumstances that lead to abortion and then to go about battling over first laws, and now funding. That has been shown to be destructive in every other area of human planning. It can be no less so here.

Sidney Callahan

THE SUPREME COURT'S June 20, 1977 decision produces a complicated set of reactions in one who counts herself a feminist and egalitarian opposed to abortion. From that vantage point, the decision evokes contradictory emotions and puts moral principles in conflict.

My first, and perhaps most persistent, reaction is: What can you expect from a Court that has refused to grant equal rights to the fetus when its existence comes in conflict with its mother's right to privacy? The failure to support equal protection for the powerless, applied in 1973 to the fetus, is now being applied to poor women. In the name of individual liberty we are prepared to deny support for all the powerless and to let them fend for themselves.

A second and more cynical reaction could regard the decision as a political reaction to the epidemic of abortions that followed the permissive 1973 decision. With these consequences come second thoughts. Suddenly the Court is taking seriously the state's "important interest in encouraging childbirth." Suddenly the Court sees the legislature as the "appropriate forum" for dealing with delicate and disputed decisions about abortion. But why only now? Is this decision a way of responding to the protests of millions of citizens, the majority of them women, who contend that all human life should be protected? Perhaps the Court is straining to correct an earlier misjudgment.

But it is also possible to take a third and more positive approach; that the current Court is caught between two valid moral principles. Distributive justice demands that what is available to some should be available to all. But another moral principle holds it wrong to make those who think elective abortions immoral finance it with their taxes.

The Court may be trying to draw a fine line, making a distinction between what a pluralistic society tolerates as a right and what that society will actively

encourage and support with public money. There are many personal rights the exercise of which are never financed by society. Adolescents have a right to quit school at a certain age, but the society which encourages and pays for their schooling will not give them the equivalent sum to spend as they please. One has a right to travel, but the state does not provide the ticket. In the same way, a woman can have the right to obtain an abortion, but the state can choose to encourage and pay only for childbirth and medically necessary abortions.

The Court also seems to be making a distinction between necessary medical measures and other life decisions that may require medical intervention. This is a view that emphasizes the limits of medical and legal remedies. Personal medical desires do not come under the rubric of necessary medical procedures. The possession of constitutionally protected rights cannot be seen as entailing public responsibility for solving all of one's problems. For instance, should the public through Medicaid pay for a face-lift for an older woman who desperately desires to look younger? If so, ought she be required to provide a psychiatrist's or physician's certification that it is a medical or psychiatric necessity?

Of course, this analogy to elective abortion ultimately breaks down. Poor women are more desperately in need of support for their reproductive roles than fifty-year-old women are in need of face-lifts. Furthermore, such elective surgery, while it may offend the taste of some, does not offend the conscience of anyone, however much we may resist paying for it with public funds.

But the real issue returns to the status of the fetus and its rights in elective abortions. The Court's decision reflects the issue over which pro-life and pro-choice advocates have been struggling: Is there, or is there not, a developing human life which has as much right to protection as the woman in whom this process is going on? Should society encourage or discourage childbirth? Encourage or discourage abortion?

These fundamental questions should not be obscured by the fact that the 1973 abortion decision was grounded on a woman's right of privacy. Privacy is a double-edged sword with its negative as well as positive dimensions. As this last Court decision seems to indicate: To be private is also to be deprived of support. If an abortion decision is a private matter and the developing fetus nothing more than an appendage of a woman's body, then there is logic in leaving a woman to solve the problem herself, no matter how poor she may be. In private enterprise, power and privilege always operate, and unequal outcomes are the norm.

An individualistic ethic that rests the right to an abortion on privacy grounds does not serve women well, and it is unfortunate that most feminists have not addressed the problem. Pregnancy disability payments, family allowances and public day care have all been attacked because they are said to infringe on the privacy of the family. Public protection of the fetus and public support for and protection of women's rights are related in principle.

So the present dilemma becomes exposed. My attitude is as problematical as the reputed creed of the English: There is no God and one must worship him from time to time. I feel that although elective abortion is morally wrong and socially destructive, it should not be effectively withheld from the poor, if it has been declared a legal right and is easily available to the middle class and rich.

A less troubling approach, although perhaps too sanguine, lies in reflecting on those rare instances when being poor may save women from harm. A 19th-century woman too poor to deliver a baby in the hospital was saved from childbirth fever spread by doctors who never washed their hands; so, too, the antebellum southern woman too poor to own slaves. In our own time, the African woman too poor to afford baby formula must breastfeed her infant, but thereby saves its life. In these and similar cases women

may feel subjectively coerced and deprived of options, but an ideal observer might make a different judgment.

Unfortunately, what we lack in the current controversy is the ideal observer and any consensus on what such a person would see and what judgment might be made. As a consequence the Supreme Court decision can be seen as only the latest legal round in the continuing and deeply disturbing ethical and moral disagreement over abortion. That the decision is confusing and inconsistent, containing both reasonable and unreasonable arguments, offending everyone and satisfying none may simply reflect the unyielding character of the abortion question.

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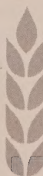
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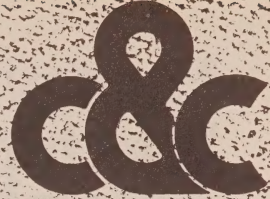
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Saint Hereticus: The Many Faces of Martin Marty

Roger Shinn on Energy

Leon Howell on Humphrey-Hawkins

William Minter on Rhodesia

Energy: Lurching to Jerusalem

IF IT HADN'T BEEN FOR a second extra-cold winter and the coal strike, the United States would have almost forgotten the energy shortage. Of course, petroleum costs more than it used to, but what doesn't? OPEC has been modest in its price demands lately. Alaskan oil is flowing, with occasional brief interruptions. There is even talk of a prospective oil glut, at least in the Western US, during the next few years.

President Carter's ambition for enactment of an energy program in 1977 has been long delayed. Uncertain leadership from the White House and the usual tugging and hauling in Congress have their enervating effect on the country.

To sound the alarm these days is to seem a little silly. People hardly notice. Or they shrug off the warnings.

Still, a few things have to be said. The world is in trouble over energy—physical trouble and moral trouble. Notice a few instances.

(1) Oil and gas—which account for about three-quarters of US energy consumption—are inexorably dwindling. Granted, exploration will turn up some new supplies. But the total reserves are declining. It is not that some day the last drop of oil will be drawn out of the ground. The point is that as time goes on, more effort, money and energy are needed to produce energy. When the energy produced is less than the energy consumed in getting it, the game is up. Well before that, there's not much fun in playing it.

(2) The radical dependence of the US on imports is frightening. It may be good for our souls to realize, as many countries must, that we are not the sole determiners of our destiny. But vulnerability to policies made abroad can put a chill on the formulation of international and domestic programs. An intricate industrial economy, depending on imports for nearly half its petroleum, is more vulnerable than the simpler economies that can be severely hurt by gyrations in, say, coffee prices.

(3) There are overwhelming ethical problems in the US drain on the energy resources of the world. This nation, which still produces almost as much oil as Saudi Arabia, must also import millions of barrels of oil per day. That demand, coupled with the ability to

pay for oil, spells doom to poorer nations that can't buy the far more modest quantities of energy they need. As a recent British book says of the US, "Its standards of consumption are so high that they can never be equalled by more than a very small proportion of humanity" (Gerald Foley, with Charlotte Nassim, *The Energy Question*, Penguin Books, 1976, pp. 61-62). All talk of economic development as an answer to world poverty founders on propositions like that.

(4) Even the ethically unconcerned must pay some attention to two financial accompaniments of the energy problem: the decline in the dollar, due (in part) to huge payments for imports of oil; and inflation, which is one way the market responds to shortages of critical products. If people will not responsibly manage economies, then economies will find ways of taking revenge on people. The wide effects of the dropping value of the dollar and of inflation are not precisely predictable; but already a lot of people are getting hurt, and more will feel the pain.

(5) An increased awareness of the hazards of both fossil fuels and nuclear energy is influencing people far and wide. The human costs of conversion from petroleum to coal are great—for coal miners, for people who breathe polluted air or live on damaged landscapes, and—finally—for the human race, which must risk the incalculable hazards of the increased load of carbon dioxide that goes with the use of all fossil fuels.

Commercial production of nuclear energy thus far has a better safety record than production of fossil fuels, but its hazards are great and a single major accident could utterly skew the present figures. The increasing doubts about nuclear energy are evident in the marked decline in installation of new reactors in the US. The World Council of Churches, partly because its constituency lives in many societies, has been somewhat friendlier to nuclear energy than comparable organizations in coal-rich and petroleum-rich countries. But in its presentation to the International Atomic Energy Agency in Salzburg last May, it combined an accent on "retaining nuclear power as one of several possible options for the future in many countries" with a warning that "the maturity of the nuclear energy system is not yet such as to justify its world-wide application."

(6) The increased recognition of the costs of solar energy, especially for space heating and cooling, and for water heating. But the production of electricity and liquid fuels by solar energy involves immense capital investment and a preemption of landscapes with untold ecological consequences. And, unfortunately, it is electricity and liquid fuels that make industrial civilizations go.

No Miracles in Sight

These six propositions—and others—mean that the energy problem will not simply go away. People may yearn for some spectacular “technical fix” that will solve the major problems. But there is not likely to be any one startling answer. Responses can include research and development for new forms of energy that are relatively safe and economical, and some progress along that line can be expected. But the monstrous rates of consumption in industrialized societies today mean that conservation must have a top priority in any program.

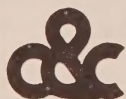
There are happily some evidences—pointed out a few years ago by the Energy Policy Project of the Ford Foundation, and more recently by Denis Hayes and others—that many steps in conservation are possible without major loss, and even with some gains, in quality of life. But these will require some radical changes both in public policy and in personal living.

Technology—often the instrument of lavish waste—can contribute greatly to conservation. But every technical advance leads to moral questions. Societies, not technologists alone, will decide whether they have a will to social justice, international and domestic.

There is little doubt that the monstrous energy binge of the affluent societies of the 20th century will soon end or at least moderate. The change may come from catastrophes—whether of starvation, exhaustion of energy resources or accidents in crash programs of energy production. Or it may come as the market anticipates shortages and brings price changes that restrict consumption.

The market has two great flaws as a mechanism for change. First, it does not look very far ahead, even though energy problems require long lead times for solution; thus it may react to troubles too late to be of much help. Second, it bears down oppressively upon the poor and weak nations—and upon the poor and weak people within nations.

The American society, afflicted with ignorance and the competing interests of many groups, may continue stumbling through the energy program for a while. Through lawsuits, demonstrations, occasional referenda and continuous consumer demand it may indulge in many conflicting decisions—here blocking a hydro-electric project, there stopping a nuclear or coal generator, then reacting to power blackouts with crash programs to step up production, all the while lurching between pressures of conservationists urging restraint and consumers craving more consumption. Such



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processes will bring change—chaotic, painful and inefficient.

There is, of course, another possibility: Public leaders might call the society to bold actions, directed both to national interest and international responsibility. Such actions would require a combination of

imaginative initiatives and social planning. They would require limitation of privilege and sharing of the costs of change. They would require also a public mood ready to respond to leadership rather than always to cut it down.

ROGER L. SHINN

The following statement on solar energy appeared originally in The FAS Public Interest Report, published by the Federation of American Scientists, and was reviewed and approved by the Federation's National Council. It is reprinted with permission.

THERE IS CONTROVERSY, real controversy, over the extent to which solar energy will ever be a major component of US energy. On the one hand, some of us see the many routes to tapping solar energy, and the current plethora of relevant ideas, and conclude that there must be some cost-effective methods in here somewhere—especially if energy prices continue to rise steadily. On the other hand, solar energy is diffuse and intermittent. These are fundamental characteristics and not easily surmounted. This leads some of us to strong pessimism.

We all agree, however, that the situation requires a high priority on solar research and development. Expenditures on R&D always have a high potential for cost-effectiveness. But in the case of solar energy, they represent an ever greater imperative.

Ironically, an energy crisis is afflicting those energy sources where we do not confront any problem of supply. Nuclear energy, a potentially limitless resource, is under increasing attack for its radiation. Solar energy, our only other limitless resource, remains of uncertain utility. Coal, while existing in America in enormous supply, is increasingly viewed with alarm for the carbon dioxide it contributes to the atmosphere when burned, carbon dioxide which can have a potential disturbing effect on the world climate.

With so few sources of energy available for the long run, and with solar energy seeming to possess so many desirable environmental and aesthetic advantages, it seems absurd to do less than to push energetically the state of the solar art.

Time is of the essence here. We could find ourselves, in a decade or two, with a campaign for a coal-burning moratorium and a dying or dead nuclear industry. And since solar, even if it works and works well, will require decades to take over a major share of the energy needs, we could find ourselves in a very unhappy situation indeed.

The research on solar energy must extend into two unusual dimensions thus far insufficiently

pursued. In the first place, with solar energy, the problem is normally to reduce its cost, not to establish its technical workability. For this reason, the problem of cost-cutting technical advance merges with the problems of economic subsidy and incentives. The economic perspective of the problem is often harder to assess than the technical and, for this reason, needs more attention.

In the second place, we need more research on the weather and the climate, with special reference to the anticipated reliability of solar energy. Solar energy will require large capital investments. Some of these investments can only be made in relative certainty that the pattern of sunlight, wind, ocean current or agricultural production are suitable.

In the case of heavy dependence on wind and direct sunlight, for example, solar "drought" could be much more serious, and simultaneously widespread, than water drought is presently.

Perhaps the underlying dilemma in the solar energy field lies in maintaining public support without misleading the public. Thus far, the solar R&D program has grown despite resistance in the executive branch, as a result of popular—and hence Congressional—enthusiasm. Maintaining that enthusiasm is, therefore, a major tactical goal. On the other hand, nothing could be worse for solar in the more strategic long run than to arouse unfulfillable expectations. At best, decades of research and commercialism are going to be necessary. In the inevitable devices that do not work to expectations, one can anticipate excesses of public discouragement.

While the general public waits for the economic analyses and technical developments to be sorted out, its involvement and contribution should be sought, not only in conversation, a *sine qua non*, but in applying the rapidly evolving and valuable notions of sensible solar architecture.

In summary, we are all quite sober about the possibility that our generation might bequeath to future generations a technical-political situation in which energy is in painfully short supply. There are, after all, not really very many energy options and they all have problems of availability or side effects. We must not miss—or mishandle—solar energy if it can be made to work. On the solar energy bottle, therefore, it should read: "Handle gently but with care."

Rhodesia's 'Internal Settlement'

Preserving White Privilege

William Minter

CASUAL CONSUMERS of newspaper headlines and network news shows may well be forgiven for believing that Ian Smith is no longer a diehard. Both the early reports and later coverage of the so-called "internal agreement" between Smith and three black leaders tend to implant the notion that Smith has finally given up hope of maintaining the Rhodesian system of white privilege and that the white minority he leads is at last willing to accept the coming of an independent, African-ruled Zimbabwe.

That judgment is false. It persists because for the most part the precise terms of the "internal agreement" have been left unexamined in public debate in the US. Instead there has been a concentration on personalities—comparing the Smith-Muzorewa-Sithole-Chirau team with the Nkomo-Mugabe team—worthy of an American presidential campaign. Discussion at this level simply bypasses the basic questions of power, inequality and exploitation that have led Zimbabweans to fight for majority rule.

Thus advocates of the "internal settlement" speak of it as an agreement between the white minority and the black majority, resting their argument on the assumed popularity or representativeness of the black leaders who have reached an agreement with Ian Smith: It is often claimed, for example, that Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the United African National Council (UANC) would gain the majority of votes in an election. (Of the other two leaders who negotiated with Smith, Chief Jeremiah Chirau is generally regarded as having negligible popular support, and his party as a government creation. And it is unclear how much support the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole retains from his days as leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), now headed by Robert Mugabe.) In a rhetorical shortcut, the guerrillas fighting in Zimbabwe under the banner of the Patriotic Front are presented as an "external force," because of their bases of support in neighboring countries. Support for them then becomes, it appears,

opposition to the democratic process, for the purpose of imposing certain leaders or, perhaps, radical ideologies.

Senator Clifford Case, ranking Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, provided an example of the attitude in a statement on March 6 expressing regret that "the leaders of the Patriotic Front, outside Rhodesia, would vow to fight the settlement negotiated by the black African leaders inside Rhodesia." In an earlier statement Senator Case had declared his support for "the moderate solution to Rhodesia's racial problem" and denounced what he took to be US support for "Russian-armed terrorists."

The State Department's liberal Africanists, defending their refusal to give wholehearted endorsement to the "internal settlement," simply reply that any settlement excluding the guerrilla leaders has no chance of working, if by working is meant stopping the war and promoting a stable and moderate Zimbabwe. "Anything short of free and impartial elections that include all of the nationalist leaders simply plays into the hands of the Soviets and instability." Ambassador Andrew Young wrote to Senator Case in early February.

As far as it goes that reply makes sense; certainly it represents a higher degree of realism than Senator Case's position. But because it remains focused on personalities it fails to illumine the issues—the reasons for African opposition to the settlement.

This is not to say that personalities can be set aside. It is important, for example, to recall that popular recognition and support for Bishop Muzorewa stemmed not from his personal charisma, but from his leadership of a massive campaign to say "No" to the settlement agreement reached in 1971 between Great Britain and Ian Smith. When the settlement was explained to them, Africans overwhelming concluded that it would simply continue and legitimate white minority rule, and they rejected it. While British and international opposition to Smith's 1965 unilateral declaration of independence was wavering and inconsistent in practice, Africans in Zimbabwe and independent African states have struck to the position that the pressure should not be relaxed while the

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settler regime is in effective control.

New Possibilities

With the victory of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies in Africa, and especially in neighboring Mozambique, new possibilities were created for the escalation of the Zimbabwean guerrilla effort to overthrow Ian Smith. This had begun in 1966 with both the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). By the early 70's the movement had installed itself strongly under ZANU auspices in north-eastern Zimbabwe. But first, with the encouragement of the newly-formed group of "front-line" African states—Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania, Mozambique and later Angola—another effort at negotiation was undertaken. Muzorewa was tapped by African "front-line" leaders to head an umbrella coalition of Zimbabwean nationalist forces. In that capacity he participated in abortive talks with Ian Smith; following their breakdown Muzorewa came to support the guerrilla struggle as well.

But the effective organization of the war effort, in 1976 and 1977, was carried out under the leadership of ZAPU's Joshua Nkomo and by the ZANU leadership cadre presided over by Robert Mugabe. So far as the war was concerned Bishop Muzorewa became a marginal figure, as did Ndabaningi Sithole, veteran nationalist leader who had been released from prison by Ian Smith to participate in the 1974 talks. After the failure of the Geneva Conference in late 1976, Muzorewa was reduced to building his political future on open political organization in Rhodesia, while the war continued. With authorized rallies in Salisbury, the country's capital, where his supporters (and the foreign press) were concentrated, Muzorewa was assured maximum propaganda leverage for his image as representative of Zimbabwe's black majority.

One should be skeptical of such claims. Under conditions of guerrilla warfare in the countryside up to the outskirts of Salisbury, and of a police state system

in which support for the guerrillas can lead to torture, arrest and secret hangings, no valid estimate of public opinion is possible.

There has been an implicit vote, however, in the growing strength of the guerrilla forces in 1976 and 1977. Whole schools emptied as teenagers fled the country for guerrilla training. In spite of the relocation of more than a million peasants in "protected villages," more and more of the rural areas came under guerrilla influence, and no part of the country was immune from attack. According to missionary witnesses—often the only whites in touch with the rural African population—support for the guerrillas (referred to as "our boys") was virtually universal, while the torture and brutality associated with the counter-insurgency effort roused new resentments. In counterpoint they heard of endless diplomatic maneuvering, but Zimbabweans were well aware that it was the war, together with the increased effectiveness of sanctions after Mozambique closed its border in March 1976, that led to whatever concessions Smith was willing to put forward.

This escalation of guerrilla warfare, it should be stressed, took place in spite of continuing confusion among Zimbabwean nationalists at a leadership level—the ouster of Muzorewa and Sithole, and the continuing failure of the Patriotic Front to reach a fuller unity between its ZAPU and ZANU wings. The guerrillas, the villagers who shelter them and the urban cadre who organize support and find recruits may well have allegiance to one leader or another who is seen as more effective, more charismatic or "from my area." They may also at times be undecided on leadership without relaxing commitment to the struggle, for they also have their own direct experience of the realities of exploitation and of war, and hopes for a different future. It would consequently be a serious mistake to regard the Zimbabwean people simply as "followers," incapable of political judgments of their own.

Their judgments will not necessarily be apparent in polls but in results: Will they respond to the Government's plea to cease support for the guerrilla war now that some African leaders have reached an agreement with Smith? Will the "transition government" organize a credible election campaign, protected by the army that has waged the war to maintain white minority rule? Will Bishop Muzorewa convince even his own followers who several times during the negotiations pressed him to hold out against concessions to Smith, that he has not sold them out? The answers should be in within a few months.

But it is already possible to get some clues by analyzing the agreement itself, and what it has to offer Zimbabwe's people. (The text may be found in *The*

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New York Times for March 4, while a highly useful analysis of the terms, prepared by Sister Janice McLaughlin, who served in Rhodesia with the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace last year, is available from the Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington D.C. 20002.)

The agreement signed in Salisbury on March 3 provides for the drafting of a new constitution, to include a majority-black legislature, hedged about with sufficient safeguards that whites would retain both power and privilege, despite a lowered profile in government. The tone of the document is already apparent in the preamble, which refers to the "present constitutional situation," and to the problems of sanctions and war, but which makes no reference to the rights of the people of Zimbabwe or to the injustice and inequalities suffered by them. Nor does the rest of the agreement address such African grievances.

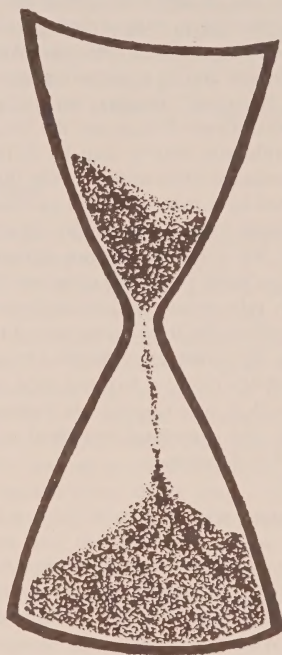
Instead it provides for the African citizen only the opportunity to elect 72 of 100 legislators. Whites, who constitute no more than 4 percent of the population, would have guaranteed, for a minimum of ten years, the remaining 28 seats, 20 to be chosen by a separate white voters' roll, and eight to be chosen by a common roll based on universal suffrage, but from nominees presented by the white members of the current House of Assembly. In sum, each white voter would have approximately as much legislative representation as ten black voters.

Enshrined in the constitution would be seven "entrenched" provisions, capable of being modified only by a majority of 78 votes. They include a declaration of rights, of which the agreement spells out two—protection of pension rights and "protection from deprivation of property unless adequate compensation is paid promptly." Another of the entrenched clauses provides that guaranteed pensions will be remittable outside the country. Since roughly one-half the land in Rhodesia is owned by (and reserved for) whites, and the civil service is overwhelmingly white, the protection envisaged is not so much for rights as for white privilege. At the same time, the clauses protecting property ownership place gigantic financial obstacles in the way of land reform programs or African advancement.

Another set of entrenched provisions would place even more effective barriers to satisfaction of African interests, with noble-sounding declarations of "independence" and "security of tenure" for the judiciary, for a "public services board" responsible for hiring and firing government employees, and independence from political control for the security forces. Thus the state apparatus which has been responsible for enforcing and administering a white

racist society would be fixed in place, in charge of the pace of African advancement and immune from control by the new 72 percent black legislative assembly, which would hold nominal authority.

This structure, scheduled to go into effect on December 31, is to be preceded by a transitional government, which will deal with such matters as drafting the constitution, preparing elections, the removal of discrimination and the composition of the security forces. For the African leaders who were



negotiating with Smith, there will be the opportunity to participate in executive and ministerial councils. Smith will remain Prime Minister, but will form an executive council—with Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau—intended to function by consensus. At the ministerial level a black and a white are to share responsibility for each portfolio, with black representation to be split equally among the three delegations. The present assembly will be "suspended" but called into session when necessary to approve the constitution or to modify existing legislation.

The security forces, already largely black in composition although white-run and including what has been estimated as more than a thousand foreign mercenaries, would be open to guerrillas willing to desert their leaders and "who wish to take up a military career." But there is evidently to be no attempt to conciliate African opinion by moderating

the counter-insurgency campaign and no firm assurance that secret hangings for captured guerrillas will cease.

Instead, with the transitional government not yet formed, and while his black negotiating partners were off trying to sell the agreement to the West, Smith again showed a total disregard for African opinion by launching the largest raid yet of Rhodesian forces on Zambia, which harbors camps of Zimbabwean guerrillas. As when he announced the "internal settlement" talks last fall and then carried out a massive attack on Zimbabwean refugee and guerrilla transit camps in Mozambique, Smith seeks to make it clear to his white followers that his concessions are no sell-out to the black "terrorism" they have resisted so long.

In 1971, when Great Britain and the Smith regime reached a settlement widely seen by Africans as a sell-out to continued white minority rule, the pact was finally rejected by a test of African opinion, carried out by the British Peace Commission. This time, with no provision for a test of African opinion on the agreement, Ian Smith is pledged to submit the plan to a whites-only referendum, and its implementation is subject throughout the transitional period to the veto of the white legislature or of Smith himself. As he argues to whites that he has not sold out white privilege, Smith is sure to persuade more and more Africans that the agreement is indeed a cover for continued white dominance.

Two Faces of the West

Reaction in the West is sure to be more ambivalent as diplomats try to balance the often contradictory demands of opposition to white minority rule in the region with Western economic and strategic interests which dictate the promotion of a non-revolutionary future for Zimbabwe and its neighbors. But neither the prominent role of outside Western interests, nor its ambivalence, are new factors in southern Africa.

Throughout the history of Zimbabwe, in fact, the struggle between white privilege and black resistance has been complicated by another conflict between local white settlers and the "imperial factor" in disagreement on the best way to achieve stability. While local settlers have held effective political power since 1922, foreign capital based in South Africa, Britain and the United States has also held a substantial stake in the economy.

Since the white regime's unilateral declaration of independence in 1965, in spite of the sanctions applied, foreign investment has increased almost 40 percent, accounting for 54 percent of Gross Domestic Product in 1974. Roughly 90 percent of Rhodesian mining is owned by South African, British and US

investors, in roughly equal proportions, while Britain and South Africa split an 80 percent interest in Rhodesian manufacturing. Even in agriculture, the domain of the "small" white farmer (3-6,000 acres), foreign companies have raised their stake with large estates ranging up to 1.5 million acres.

The diplomacy of Western nations, now as in earlier rounds of negotiations, is not committed to preserving the local white supremacy for which Smith has fought to the bitter end. But it is geared to a "moderate" solution and to promoting a form of stability that could maintain Rhodesia (or Zimbabwe) within the Western sphere of influence, preserve a favorable climate for investment, and prevent it from serving as a strong base for further guerrilla struggle in South Africa.

Western attitudes to the white minority regime are thus ambiguous and compromising. As an obstacle to majority rule, the regime is a provocation for increasing radicalization. But it is also, in the short run, a prop for law and order and the necessary collaborator in laying an institutional framework for a new, appropriately pro-Western Zimbabwe. Moreover, a consistent anti-Smith posture would conflict with substantial South African and Western business interests.

The limits thus placed on British and American opposition to the white Rhodesian regime are pointedly illustrated by the persistent refusal to consider full implementation of oil sanctions voted by the UN Security Council in 1966. Since the publication of *The Oil Conspiracy* (United Church of Christ Center for Social Action) in 1976, it has been abundantly documented that landlocked Rhodesia depends on South Africa-based subsidiaries of British and American oil companies for the petroleum products it needs. But in spite of repeated African demands, neither the US nor the UK has effectively confronted its own companies or South Africa on the issue.

On the diplomatic front the US and Britain are now caught wavering between their own settlement proposals of last year, themselves designed to ensure a "moderate" transition, and Smith's new scheme. These Anglo-American proposals provided for full British control during a transition period which would include elections based on universal suffrage, a plan for the security forces involving an amalgamation of government and guerrilla troops and a Zimbabwe Development Fund aimed at laying out a plan for capitalist development in an independent Zimbabwe.

Who's in Charge?

Summarily rejected by Ian Smith, who would be removed from power under its terms, the plan was

accepted as a "basis for discussion" by the Patriotic Front and the front-line states. Meeting most recently in Malta in late January, the US, Britain and the Patriotic Front made little progress in resolving differences, centered on the locus of ultimate authority during the transition period and the composition of security forces to back up that authority. But as African opinion was coming to emphasize more the possibilities of changing the plan to their liking, its original sponsors were soon looking over their shoulders at the parallel negotiations in Salisbury. The Anglo-American plan must be moot in any case, without some mechanism for removing Smith. Opposed to African plans for continuing the guerrilla war, or to stepping up economic sanctions, the West can only look for new compromises—with Smith.

Faced with right-wing pressures, particularly strong from the British Conservative Party, British and American diplomats have cautiously referred to the "internal settlement" as a step forward, while adding that it did not go far enough to warrant full acceptance. Differences in nuance on how favorable comment on the settlement should be, or how strong the critique, have appeared within the US administration, while British officials have tended to be more favorable. Initially Britain argued for a veto of a UN resolution presented by African nations, which strongly condemned the "internal settlement." In the end, however, agreement on the virtues of ambivalence prevailed, and two countries joined with three other Western nations in abstaining on the Security Council resolution.

Unwilling to move to more serious economic pressures which might contribute to Smith's defeat, and outflanked by Smith's promotion of his "internal settlement" to constituencies in the Western countries, the West's diplomats seem to be back, as so often on the Rhodesian question, to "talks about talks." Attempting to keep the diplomatic momentum going, they proposed a meeting between the Patriotic Front and the "internal" black leaders, only to meet (thus far) with rejection on all sides. Meanwhile the war continues, and plans for Zimbabwe's economic future after the lifting of sanctions—plans being made in offices of transnational companies, in the Agency for International Development, at the World Bank and in a dozen other agencies—will have to wait.

Smith hopes for a future in which white privilege is preserved, even at the cost of losing visible political control. The Western countries hope for a "moderate" transition to pro-Western stability, which leads them to willingness to compromise with the existing white regime. But those who reject this latest proposal do not necessarily have an agreed-upon alternate vision for the shape of Zimbabwean society.

What the Patriotic Front leaders and the front-line states are agreed upon is simply that no effort to build an independent Zimbabwe can be successful unless the power of the white minority is definitively removed. Whites and their skills are welcome—as equals and with equal rights. But the future of an independent Zimbabwe must not be mortgaged with a commitment to preserve their privileged position. Radical land reform will be essential. The white-black income inequalities of more than ten-to-one must be addressed. All vestiges of discrimination must disappear. Any settlement which places insurmountable obstacles in the way of these objectives, or which fails to ensure that the African people have real power rather than only the semblance of it, alternately will be rejected.

Differing Hopes

There will be many questions as yet unresolved at Zimbabwe's independence. There is no plan, for example, by the front-line states or the Organization of African Unity, themselves politically diverse, to impose a radicalism which might upset Senator Case's hopes for "moderation." Nor is there a detailed consensus among the leaders of the Patriotic Front on plans for a socialist transformation of the economy. Many ZAPU and ZANU leaders are committed to the attempt to build socialism, and in the ZANU-controlled areas in the east of the country there is an emerging effort to build structures of mass participation. But the obstacles will be many. As economist Michael Bratton has commented, any Zimbabwean government will face major constraints from the structure of the economy, in which black Zimbabweans now control no more than 12 percent of the productive capacity.

Nor is the fragile unity of the Patriotic Front secure against factional struggles or against future attempts, perhaps by Western powers, to split off and support "moderates" against those regarded as extremist or anti-Western. The existence of separate guerilla forces, with ZAPU having its bases of support in Zambia and ZAPU in Mozambique, poses a danger for conflict that is feared by the front-line states and the Zimbabwean leaders themselves. The attempt to preserve and expand the unity and coordination within the Patriotic Front, and among the front-line states, thus becomes essential not only for the successful prosecution of the war against Smith, but also to avoid a possible civil war in Zimbabwe.

But there is a consensus among diverse African states that the present war to rid Rhodesia of white minority rule is far from over. Some hope that in its course there will be a continuing radicalization of

Zimbabwean leadership and the mobilization of the people to build a new society aimed at eliminating exploitation and strongly supportive of liberation in South Africa. Others may wish simply for the most rapid end possible to white rule in Zimbabwe, and the removal of the economic burden which the struggle there has placed on neighboring African states. All hope that internecine conflict among Zimbabweans will be minimized. Zimbabweans themselves may not yet agree on the shape of their new society, or who should lead it. But African states and Zimbabweans alike share a long experience of deception by Rhodesian and Western diplomacy, and a consequent readiness to look for the reality behind the stagecraft of diplomacy.

Americans are more distant from the realities of southern Africa and thus more easily taken in by imagery, whether it be the "internal settlement" today or some future Western effort to engineer a solution. But it should not be too much to ask that one look carefully at the fine print, and examine the realities of exploitation and the power that maintains it, recalling the use in an earlier era (in Southeast Asia, for example) of images of democracy and its defense against left-wing extremists. □

One Small Step for The Jobless

WASHINGTON—It may have mirrored a national concern but only the Buffalo newspapers and television carried the story. It was, after all, a simple ceremony in the office of Buffalo Congressperson Henry J. Nowak.

Nowak, a Democrat, and Jack Kemp, a conservative Republican Congressperson from near Buffalo, accepted a full-employment petition with approximately 60,000 signatures. It called upon President Carter and Congress "to develop a national policy of full employment, to enact and implement legislation that will fully utilize the nation's energies and skills, in the private and public sector, and to create jobs for all who are willing to work."

The petition was presented by the Rev. Max Glenn, executive director of the Buffalo Area Metropolitan Ministries (BAMM) and Jerry Tucker, legislative representative of the United Auto Workers. Staff members from the offices of New York Senators Jacob

Javits (R) and Daniel Moynihan (D) participated.

The petition, which also stated "we believe that the well being of the whole community depends upon all persons being able to do useful work at a decent wage," had been sparked by Bethlehem Steel's layoff of 3,500 people in Buffalo last fall, exacerbating a deep unemployment problem in Western New York.

The signatures had been gathered over a period of several months in a cooperative effort among BAMM (which involves Jewish, Greek Orthodox, Protestant and Roman Catholic groups and individuals engaged in social and ethical issues), the Urban League, NAACP, AFL-CIO and UAW.

The petition did not explicitly mention the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act. But the sponsoring organizations all supported its passage. The presentation was timed to coincide with the vote on the bill in the House, which approved Humphrey-Hawkins March 16 by a vote of 257 to 152.

The Senate will probably vote on Humphrey-Hawkins in June; its passage there, while likely, is not a foregone conclusion.

The bill as approved finally by the House was much changed from the original proposal of four years ago. Jobs programs and economic planning aimed at reducing overall unemployment to three percent were gone. *The New York Times* editorially called the remaining promise a "cruel hoax."

After a melancholy review of the stripping of the original Humphrey-Hawkins bill, Robert Lekachman predicted in these pages in September 1976 that "Congress will clearly not pass this year or in the foreseeable future a genuine full employment measure. It is quite likely that in the next Congress . . . something called a full employment bill will be enacted."

No one in the coalition of labor, civil rights and religious groups that had fought to get the bill passed was enthusiastic about the results as they came out March 16 after a prolonged battle over a series of amendments designed to kill it off entirely. But in the same week word spread in Washington that fighting inflation would become the top priority of the Carter Administration if the President heeded the advice of his top economic advisers, Council of Economic Advisers Chairperson Charles Schultze and Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal.

Saving Virtues

To those struggling to keep unemployment in its proper place at the top of the nation's economic concerns, losing the vote on Humphrey-Hawkins would have seemed a double blow.

Further, some observers felt the bill, for all its weaknesses, had more to offer than critics said. In last November's compromise between the bill's sponsors and the Administration, the "right to a job" clause was lost. But the goal of lowering the unemployment rate within five years to three percent for adults 20 and over and four percent for all working-age Americans was retained.

The President is required to give Congress at the start of each regular session numbers to be aimed for in employment, unemployment, production and prices for the next five years.

Black Caucus member John Conyers (D-Mich.) (the Caucus worked hard to get the bill passed) called Humphrey-Hawkins a process bill. "It provides a level of public accountability toward economic policy that citizens need to judge the performance of their leaders."

If, in his Economic Report and Budget Message, President Carter does not appear to be moving toward the goal of reduced unemployment, the public and its representatives will be able to spot the discrepancy early on.

Writing at almost the same time the *Times*' "cruel hoax" editorial appeared, *Washington Post* economic columnist Hobart Rowan said:

[A]nyone who assumes that these more modest proposals represent such a "watering down" as to make the Humphrey-Hawkins bill merely another memorial to the late senator from Minnesota had better put on glasses and take a look at the precise language of the bill.

If nothing else [it] would establish a totally new relationship between the Federal Reserve System and the executive branch of government. . . . Now, this is where the bill—in my opinion—really bites: For the first time ever, the Federal Reserve will have to submit to Congress—within 30 days after the Economic Report—a statement of its intended policies over the next two years "and their relationships to the short-term goals set forth in the Economic Report."

Whatever one's verdict on the bill, it is certain that no full employment legislation at all could have passed the House in March without a carefully designed campaign of pressure on wavering members of Congress.

This was orchestrated by the Full Employment Action Council, an organization co-chaired by Coretta Scott King and Murray Finley, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Through the Council—Dr. Howard Sprague of the United Church Board of Homeland Ministries is vice-chairman—the UAW, AFL-CIO, League of Women Voters, Urban League and various religious groups worked to assure a positive vote on the bill and to stave off several of the more onerous amendments.

A press conference held in the Rayburn Senate Office Building during the debate illustrated the extent to which a coalition so vital to the civil rights era came together for Humphrey-Hawkins from Sen. Muriel Humphrey, Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D.-Calif.), Coretta King, Murray Finley, William Thompson (President of the National Council of Churches) and Rep. Perrin Mitchell (D.-Md., chairman of the Black Caucus).

Phone calls were made across the country into key Congressional districts, using the contact lists gathered by such groups as IMPACT, the religious-based organization which solicits support for issues before Congress. Bread for the World called on its network to contact members of the House.

Long Term Effort

This coordinated effort did not come about suddenly or by accident. Over the past two years in 20 cities across the nation the same alliances have been sponsoring meetings on unemployment. In most of those cities continuing organizations had been formed and in eight—Boston, Buffalo, Denver, Des Moines, Kansas City, Omaha, Philadelphia and San Francisco—local staff had been hired. New York has its own version of the Full Employment Action Council.

This activity has been encouraged and sometimes supported by the Full Employment Committee of the Health and Welfare Working Group of the National Council of Churches. Jessica Fernandez-White of the NCC has provided staff assistance.

It is important to stress that these various combinations of people and groups did not begin and end with Humphrey-Hawkins. On balance they decided they wanted the legislation and felt it was important to push for its passage. But their combined purpose is to help find voice for the unemployed and underemployed in a society which has too long accepted devastating joblessness.

NCC President William Thompson, after participating in the press conference mentioned earlier, testified before a Senate subcommittee urging passage of Humphrey-Hawkins in the Senate. He called it only a first step "in a continuing effort to establish as national policy our conviction that every person who is able, willing and seeking to work has a right to a useful job at a decent wage."

That right has not been established. It is that task which motivates the coalition which backed Humphrey-Hawkins as, in the words of one participant, "a way station to more important goals."

LEON HOWELL



Saint Hereticus

E Pluribus Marty

Martin E. Marty, professor of the history of modern Christianity at the University of Chicago, is author of *Righteous Empire*, and, most recently, *Turning East*—THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW, March 12, p. 15.

THAT STOLID EXEMPLAR of modern "investigative reporting," *The New York Times*, likes to explode its journalistic bombs inconspicuously. Whereas the more vulgar *Washington Post* tends to make front page headlines out of its discoveries of collusion in high places, *The Times* buries its scandalous discoveries discreetly within the cavernous bowels of its Sunday edition—on page 15 of the *Book Review*, for example.

Some months ago *The Times* printed a review of a book called *Turning East*, which its reviewer (following apparently unimpeachable information obtained from the publisher of the book) attributed to an author named "Harvey Cox." An investigative specialist, less naive than the reviewer, noted the curious repetition of initials ("Harvey Cox" of "Harvard College") and suspected a pseudonym. Immediately *The Times* assigned an investigative reporting team to pursue the matter with (as the directive put it) "utmost discretion." And gradually it became apparent that more was going on in the writing of religious (or, as the trade says, "inspirational") literature than met the eye, and that a skillfully contrived net of authorial deceit was about to come apart.

Stylistic comparative studies of the works of "Harvey Cox" were undertaken in relation to the writings of other prolific authors on the religious scene. A propensity for compulsive religious writing emerged as a syndrome marking a number of best-selling authors, among them Michael Novak, Andrew Greeley and Martin Marty. While Novak's corporality has long been established, it had been widely hinted that there was no such person as "Andrew Greeley" and that "he" was in fact a syndicate of writers—a sociologist who produced documented

surveys with charts, a popular columnist who produced undocumented polemical attacks on Protestantism and a group of authors who produced two or three books a year dealing with the problems of being a 20th-century Catholic. Query: If "Andrew Greeley" was in fact a team, was it possible that "Harvey Cox" was other than "he" appeared to be?

Evidence began to mount that Martin Marty had a lacuna of 30 unaccounted-for minutes each day of his life as professor, deane, author, editor, lecturer, columnist, trends potter, husband and father and Lutheran. Feeding this information into a computer, *The Times* investigative reporting team discovered that if he chose, Marty could produce out of those cumulative 30 minutes any number of books that could be published pseudonymously, thus relieving him of the charge by professional colleagues that he was writing too much.

Such, indeed, turned out to be the case. *The Secular City*, it was discovered, was actually a veiled description by Marty of what it is like to live and work in Chicago. *The Feast of Fools* was a carefully reasoned modern apologia for the Lutheran doctrine of con-substantiation, while *The Seduction of the Spirit* was an attack on chiliastic movements that had threatened 17th-century Lutheranism. *Turning East*, the latest production and the one referred to in the above excerpt from *The Times*, was a travel diary Marty had kept of his trips from Chicago to Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Philadelphia, Hartford, Bangor and Watervliet, NY, as from time to time he forsook the city with which for so many years he had had a love-hate relationship.

Besides achieving a truer measure of Marty's literary output, *The Times'* team got new insight into his tactical shrewdness. To promote the sale of his pseudonymous writings, he would arrange for attention to be given to them in *The Christian Century*, a small midwestern Christian house organ which he served as a part-time editor. On one occasion he even broke into the pages of *CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS* with an "Open Letter to Harvey Cox," giving "Cox" avuncular advice about recovering his Baptist roots—a piece which (as we now know) could more honestly have been entitled "Conversation with Myself."

It became clear, in other words, that "Cox" was the alter-ego by means of which Marty kept his fantasy life in touch with reality. Marty was the Lutheran, "Cox" the Baptist; Marty was the establishment spokesperson, "Cox" the renegade social activist; Marty was the historian, "Cox" the contemporary; Marty was the proper Midwesterner, "Cox" the improper Bostonian; Marty was the proprietor of a shaven pate and a balding chin, "Cox" the possessor of a scraggly beard and a full head of hair.

In the meantime, what of “Harvey Cox”? Did he or did he not exist? It became clear to Marty that if there were no “Harvey Cox” it would be necessary to invent him. So Marty cleverly arranged for an individual assuming that name to be seen from time to time around Harvard Square, but also to be absent for long periods of time in places like “Cuernavaca” or “Columbia” or “Colorado” (the ongoing repetition of the “C”-syndrome is worth remarking). Marty himself often appeared in public places sporting a false beard and hairpiece, giving trendy talks and collecting “Cox’s” honoraria, after which he would double back to the University of Chicago to sit in on oral examinations about obscure 18th-century historians.

All this and more, *The Times* uncovered. Aware, however, of the peculiar sensibilities of the religious community, and less than eager to have an ecclesiastical Watergate on its hands, it chose to unveil its conclusions discreetly and modestly, leaving it to those with sharp eyes to put the facts together. Hence the almost casual attribution to Marty, cited above, of the book the public all the time had thought was authored by “Cox.”

Even this, however, is not the full story. Having discovered that Marty and “Andrew Greeley” both live in “Chicago” (which may itself be a pseudonym for something it would be impossible to invent), the team is pursuing leads suggesting that “Andrew Greeley” may be yet another pseudonym employed by Marty, the better to cover his tracks. It is known that Marty can write from 250 to 700 words a minute, depending on the weather. Computer-wise (as they say in the trade) it is mathematically possible that Marty’s cumulative 30 minutes per day could account for even the stream of writings the public at present attributes to “Greeley.”

What could be more fitting? If one side of Marty yearns for the Baptist free-church tradition, might there not be another fraction yearning for the structured life of modern Catholicism, so winsomely depicted in the writings of “Andrew Greeley”? Indeed, if Marty-“Cox” has produced a book called *Turning East*, may we not look forward to a Marty-“Greeley” book called *Go West, Young Man*? □

Correspondence

TO THE EDITOR: In their article entitled “The Free Market Myth: Fatal Trap for Farmers,” (*C&C*, Oct. 31), Shirley E. Greene and Richard W. Priggie have urged upon us the view that farmers cannot be trusted to act in their own best interests. Indeed, they have urged us to “help farmers work free from the mythology that now holds them in thrall,” because “to help

them toward a more sophisticated understanding of how and why they are being manipulated is an eminently proper Christian undertaking.” Farmers properly should be incensed by the patronizing, condescending attitude expressed toward them by Greene and Priggie, and thoughtful observers of our farm sector should be incensed by the carelessness and inuendo with which they develop their arguments.

Greene and Priggie contend that the free market is “a system that is destroying the family farm,” yet “farmers persistently act and vote against their own survival interests” because they “are hypnotized by the myth of the free market.” Hence, they reason, it is our duty to save them from themselves. I submit that while it is true that farmers have been reluctant to embrace governmental control of their industry, perhaps it is because they have a better understanding than Greene and Priggie of the strengths of the current system and the potential problems (political and economic) of increased government involvement. But in any case Greene and Priggie present a very incomplete picture of what is happening down on the farm.

Is the family farm really being destroyed? Greene and Priggie point out that the number of farm families fell by half between 1945 and 1975, and imply that those who left were forced out by economic disaster, while giant corporations moved in to take their place. But the facts seem to be much less disturbing than this bleak picture. Though family farms have been more numerous in times past, they have never been more robust nor more significant in agricultural production than they are now. Since 1945, the percentage of farms which are owned by the families which operate them has risen from 62 percent to about 87 percent of all farms. The disposable per capita income of all farm families has risen from \$1,100 in 1946 (56 percent of the disposable per capita income of the non-farm population) to \$5,100 in 1975 (88 percent of the non-farm population).

What has been the role of giant corporations? It’s a little difficult to tell, for the statistics are not very complete, but the 1969 census of agriculture showed that about 3 percent of gross receipts from farming were received by corporations with 10 or more shareholders. (Corporations as a whole accounted for 14 percent of gross receipts, but the bulk of these are family farms that have incorporated for tax purposes.) Some may find these figures alarming, but it’s clear that the giant corporations have not been responsible for the decline in numbers of family farms.

But what of the small farms with sales less than \$20,000, which Greene and Priggie mention? Fifteen years ago, these were *not* small farms and in fact over 90 percent of all farms were in this category. Their net

income was then about \$4,192 per farm. By 1975 farms in this class still constituted over 60 percent of all farms, but their average net income per farm had grown to \$14,600.

Now it's true that most of the income now comes from non-farm sources, indicating that these are really part-time farmers. But is this reason to pity them? It seems to me that they have successfully combined the advantages of rural farm life while gaining independence from the small income which is the most that small landholdings can provide. At least it is clear that on the average these households cannot be considered financial disasters. And of those farmers who did cease to farm in the last 15 years, very few went bankrupt as claimed by Greene and Priggie, since no more than one-tenth of one percent of *all* farms have gone bankrupt in any of the past 20 years.

Farmers' Views

These data cast substantial doubt on Greene's and Priggie's grasp of our agricultural economy. Now let's consider the myth to which farmers are supposedly in thrall. According to Greene and Priggie, this free market myth is the belief "that the market system is the most efficient way of producing and distributing the food we need, the most equitable way of sharing out the returns." Now, I suspect that farmers do not hold to this belief as stated, and I am certain that economists do not, even those economists who are advocates of free markets. Any "careful economist" (Greene's and Priggie's term) will eschew this or any other assertions of equity. At most an economist will claim that competitive markets tend to be efficient in allocating resources so as to maximize consumers' welfare, *for any given distribution of wealth*. My guess is that farmers' views correspond more closely to this than to the belief imputed to them by Greene and Priggie.

But if they are convinced of the value of the market place, how can we explain farmers' marches on capital cities and the lobbying of some of the farm groups for legislation which will protect them from the competition of other farmers and from the vicissitudes of market prices? Such contradictions should not really surprise us, for we have observed often that even those who espouse the efficiency of market competition as a general concept will often desire to excuse their own enterprise from its nagging pressure. Of course our farmers are disturbed now that farm prices (most of them) have fallen below the boom years of 1973-76. It is understandable that many will now seek the protection of government, just as earlier many had castigated President Ford's export embargoes as being government interference which held their prices

down. But on balance, in view of the economic progress of farm families, I don't think it is terribly surprising that farmers are persistent in their resistance to increased government control.

This note is by no means a complete refutation of Greene and Priggie nor a defense of the status quo in agricultural policy. There are many issues to be debated. But I hope that the few data and interpretations I have presented will suggest that the debate is worthy of much more serious consideration than that given to it by Priggie and Greene. Surely our churches should give it that consideration before they undertake the educational (propaganda?) efforts urged by those writers.

RICHARD K. PERRIN
Raleigh, North Carolina

The writer is a professor in the department of economics and business at North Carolina State University.

REPLY: Professor Perrin questions our grasp of the US agricultural economy, but we fail to find in his commentary substantial reason to alter our views.

His bald assertion that "family farms. . . have never been more robust. . . than they are today" seems to us about three years late and reflective of an academic and statistical perspective rather than a response to the human situation confronting thousands of family farmers in 1978.

It is true that a combination of circumstances in 1973-74 pushed farm income to record highs. Perrin cites statistics from 1975, close to this peak, in support of his rosy picture of the family farm economy. The fact is that both per-farm income and the ratio of farm to non-farm income have been going down since 1974. It is hard to reconcile his image of the "robust" family farm with the thousands of family farmers, most of them young men, who are out on the tractors these days demonstrating in state capitals and in Plains, Ga., with demands for governmental action to relieve their economic plight.

Maybe Perrin's problem is that he deals too much in averages. Averages obscure wide variations in farm income. There may be indeed a small core of family farmers of middle age and beyond who have their mortgages worked off, who have a substantial line of credit and who can weather another year or two of falling prices and rising costs. Our perception is, however, that many of the young family farmers who started farming during the 1973-74 boom period have their backs against the wall and will probably go out of business within the next 12 months. They will surely go broke if left to the vagaries of a truly free market.

These observations highlight a defect of the free market in agriculture which perhaps we did not

emphasize sufficiently in our original article. That is its tendency to produce wild and unpredictable fluctuations in farm commodity prices. These erratic price fluctuations and the consequent inability of farmers to plan their production rationally is one of the most basic causes of the failure of many family farms over the years.

Perrin points to substantial reduction in farm tenancy since 1945, but this really has little relevance to the issue of family farm survival. His data on disposable per capita income of farm families are impressive until put in the context of inflation in the general economy since 1946, his baseline. He cites a very low percentage of bankruptcies in farming. On this point we will stand by our figures, taken from a 1975 study by the General Accounting Office. Those data, taken with the 1977 USDA survey of 400 Midwestern bankers, seem to us to support the apprehensions of the American Agriculture Movement strikers rather than any complacency regarding the future of the family farmer.

Perrin concedes that much of the income of farmers on small and medium-sized family farms comes these days from non-farm sources, and he seems to applaud this pattern. Our reaction is that there is something fundamentally wrong with a system which forces

thousands of farmers and/or their spouses to take jobs in town in order to pay for the privilege of farming and producing the food and fiber for the American people and for export. Combining farming and off-farm work tends to reduce the efficiency of the farm operation, and certainly places severe strain on the quality of family life on the farm.

SHIRLEY E. GREENE and
RICHARD W. PRIGGIE

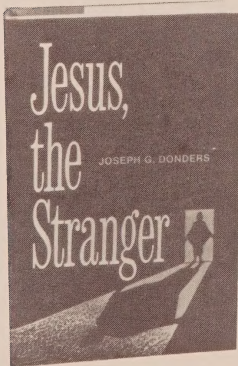
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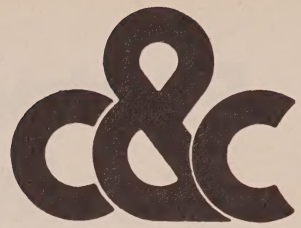
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Postponing Socialism

Robert Lekachman

IF ON NOVEMBER 12, a chilly Saturday in Washington, you had happened to pass the office building that houses the Democratic National Committee a few blocks from the Mayflower Hotel, you might have paused to contemplate the interesting spectacle of several hundred people holding candles, a few alight but most long since extinguished by a sharp wind. The good-humored but shivering crowd, indifferently observed by a few policemen, took turns singing familiar union and civil rights songs out of Pete Seeger handbooks and listened to speakers who exhorted them to go back home and organize pressure upon their Washington representatives to promote full employment, racial and sexual justice, national health insurance and other desirable objectives.

After an hour or so, letters were read from Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall and Democratic National Committee Chairman Kenneth Curtis. Both gentlemen professed themselves ardent advocates of jobs for all. Soon the crowd of demonstrators, mostly young but plentifully sprinkled with gray heads, dispersed as amiably as they had assembled. Television—from West Germany but from no domestic network—filmed the entire scene.

This was the media event (if only the media had come) of the Democratic Agenda weekend organized by Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). In spite of media inattention, the weekend as an organizational event was a howling success. More than a thousand people

registered and more than 800 of them remained to listen on Sunday morning to the UAW's Doug Fraser and to participate in workshops concerned with follow-up activity among their constituents at home. These enlightened 1000 were a mixture of trade unionists, academics, community organizers, radical businessman and politicians—among the latter were two Democratic National Committeemen and a pair of New York City councilwomen.

Among much else, they heard Mike Harrington urge everybody to hold Carter to his campaign promises and the pledges of the Democratic platform, termed by Carter-the-candidate a contract between him and the voters. Gar Alperovitz of the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives and Nat Weinberg, former research director for the United Auto Workers, advocated democratic planning. Hazel Henderson of Environmentalists for Full Employment explained why full employment and environmental protection are complementary rather than competitive objectives. Several economists, including this one, excoriated the Phillips Curve, which embodies the notion of a necessary trade-off between unemployment and inflation. At luncheon, William ("Wimpy") Winpisinger condemned economists (present company excepted) as barriers to progress. There were panels on practically everything: the cities, the quality of work, energy, the Third World, tax reform, jobs, inflation and so on.

This Is Victory?

As an early member of DSOC and one of the initiators of this gathering, I took heart from the number and quality of those present and also from the support of three presidents of major unions: Wurf of AFSCME, Fraser of the UAW and Winpisinger of the Machinists. Their presence gave credibility to Harrington's persistent coalition strategy of alliance among socialists, blacks, church social activists, left liberals and the progressive wing of the labor movement. Any large and enthusiastic gathering of like-minded individuals evokes momentary euphoria. This one was certainly no exception.

Yet, and yet, I came away distressed about the politics of coalition in a conservative, ideologically innocent country bereft of any substantial left-wing party. How can one quarrel then with Harrington's attempt to draw upon the only place where there are substantial troops, the labor movement? Indeed if DSOC is to grow from cult to mass movement, it must enlist ordinary members of unions headed by our three friendly union presidents.

Nevertheless, the exigencies of alliance do produce a distinct sense of anticlimax. During the weekend the

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prime example was Harrington's reaction to the latest version of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment bill, which has been floating around Congress for three years in a condition of suspended animation. In response to rising black unemployment and the pressure of the Congressional Black Caucus, Carter endorsed a yet weaker version of a bill that had already been watered down several times. The "compromise" negotiated between Carter agents and Congressional sponsors announced a 4 percent unemployment target by 1983 (!), but mandated absolutely no new action either by Congress or the White House. Just to rub the point in, the bill empowers the President at the end of three years to modify the employment target (which once was set at 3 percent to be achieved in 18 months). And it installs inflation as a problem equal to unemployment.

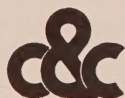
For those of a certain age afflicted by long memories, the outcome of this haggling was bitterly reminiscent of the 1944 and 1945 struggles over the full employment bill of that era. By the time Congress had finished with a strong measure, it had become the Employment Act of 1946, which required nobody to do anything. (It did create two of the gabbiest groups in Washington where there is no shortage: the Joint Economic Committee of Congress—shorn of power to

sponsor legislation—and the Council of Economic Advisers—which offers whatever advice a President cares to heed.) As a final insult the late Senator Robert A. Taft voted for the 1946 statute. Senator Goldwater should have no trouble voting for this one.

All the same, the Black Caucus announced a famous victory, and both Fraser and Winpisinger specifically endorsed the measure. So did Harrington, although he took care to label it only a tiny step forward. At that he exaggerated. By including inflation as a policy target, the new bill offers Washington politicians an even stronger excuse for inaction against unemployment. If in 1980 Carter decides to revise upward the unemployment target, all he need do is cite the menace of inflation and his obligation under the bill to alleviate it as well as unemployment.

To treat this important defeat as even a minor victory amounts to product mislabeling. It exposes all hands to alternative charges of disingenuousness or political idiocy. There is the additional danger that union, black, church and liberal pressure upon Carter to take meaningful action against continuing unemployment will relax after this "triumph."

I said as much in my own remarks to the conclave. Once again second thoughts intrude. Should one publicly disagree with important allies even when



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they are badly mistaken? These allies have taken their own soundings of public, Congressional and Presidential opinion. Perhaps they are right that when the national mood is conservative, symbolic victories are better than none. As I grope for a satisfactory political position, I rather think that pragmatic radicals can err by placing too much emphasis upon the adjective and too little upon the noun.

After all, the point of coalition with nonsocialists is

to raise *their* consciousness—not to accept their positions so charitably that no one can tell the socialists from the Democrats. It goes without saying that the creation of a serious left in the United States is a long labor. Fraternal compromises on issues like Humphrey-Hawkins are unlikely to do much for the cause.

Well, it was a nice weekend. There is always the hope, based on extensive previous evidence, that I am wrong again.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Israel After Sadat The End of the Beginning

Arthur Samuelson

As this issue goes to press the events set in train by Anwar Sadat's visit to Israel are occurring at a pace that makes it impossible to assess the final impact of the Egyptian President's initiative on Middle East and world history. Measured by its consequences within Israel, however, its significance is difficult to exaggerate. It seems useful, therefore, for Americans to know in as much depth as possible how the Israelis responded. Arthur Samuelson, who was in Israel when the visit occurred, partly on assignment from C&C, was in a position to observe and share the experience.

TEL AVIV—The day before Anwar Sadat announced that he would indeed be coming to Jerusalem, I talked with a young auto mechanic who last May had voted for Likud, the right-wing religious party, for the first time. "There never will be peace with the Arabs," he said. "Anyone who says that if we do this or that we will get peace in return is fooling himself. There will always be war. The Arabs cannot be trusted. They want to destroy Israel. Why should we help them by giving back the territories? The whole world is against Israel because of the Arab oil."

I didn't see him again after Sadat arrived. But if he wasn't affected, he was a lonely man.

A woman tells me her husband woke the morning after Sadat's arrival certain that the electricity no longer worked, that the buses no longer ran and that he was in heaven. A kibbutznik reports a conversation

between his sister and her husband, married 14 years: For the first time she could tell him that all during her last pregnancy she had dreaded that the child would be male. For the first time he told her what he had seen during the Yom Kippur War.

Watching the red, white and black flag of Egypt being hoisted alongside Israel's blue and white colors, an Israeli journalist is stunned. "This truly is the end of days," he mutters. Television newscasters, ordinarily as professionally detached as Walter Cronkite or John Chancellor, punctuate their coverage with expressions of amazement: "Incredible! Fantastic! Can you believe it?"

As Sadat's plane touches down at Lod Airport, a group of young Israelis gather around a television set. On the table is a cake with "Shalom" inscribed over the icing. On the screen, a pack of journalists and bodyguards emerge from the plane. Finally, Sadat; the band strikes the Egyptian national anthem. "I was certain," says one of the watchers, "that just at this moment five soldiers with machine guns were going to jump out that door and gun down Begin and the whole Knesset."

As Sadat stands at attention there is absolute silence. Then someone mutters to himself, "I would give anything to know what he is thinking at this moment," and almost as if on cue the camera zooms in on Sadat's face, so close one can see the bulging veins in his forehead. The band moves into "Hativka," and one can all but touch the emotion in the room.

As Sadat is driven from Lod Airport to Jerusalem, crowds line the roads to cheer him—among them many of Begin's strongest supporters, the kind who chant his name at soccer games between the Likud team and the Labor Party's. Waiting for Sadat to pass

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they are singing (to the melody of "When the Saints Go Marching In") astonishing words: "When peace comes we shall visit the Pyramids." The television shows an old Yemenite rabbi, wrapped in prayer shawl, who is leaping and turning in the air while shouting prayers to God. An interviewer asks what he is praying for. "For the success of Sadat's trip. We must remember that Sadat, too, is descended from Abraham, Isaac and Jacob." Watching the scene on television, an Israeli woman laughs. "So, the Arabs are no longer animals."

The next day, and for several days to follow, there is only one topic of conversation. People ask one another, "Why has he come?" "What will he say?" "Are we at peace?" *Ma'ariv*, the largest evening paper, prints a banner headline in bold Arabic and Hebrew Type: WELCOME PRESIDENT SADAT; next day the issue is a collector's item. The streets are empty, especially at night, as people sit glued to their television sets. On Sunday, a work day in Israel, factories and offices shut down and, despite the number of television sets in operation, the consumption of electricity drops. (Cost of the visit, including lost production, is estimated at \$60 million.) Even the underworld is on holiday; during Sadat's stay, only one break-in is reported. And only one traffic accident, in a country where crashes account for one of every three deaths.

Official Unease

The euphoria reaches such a peak that the Government is worried over the letdown that must follow when it is realized that this is only a beginning step. "Do not overdo it," cautions Begin in a telecast interview.

But it is hard to resist being carried away. For the first time, telephone lines have been opened between Israel and Cairo and the newspapers are full of reports of conversations between their staffs and those of Egyptian papers. *The Jerusalem Post* advertises a building suitable for an Egyptian embassy. Flato Sharon, a millionaire immigrant who recently found asylum here from French authorities by literally buying himself a Knesset seat, opens an account in a Cairo bank. The Ministry of Industry announces that it has begun to draw up proposals for joint development programs; a tourist agency begins to take reservations for tours of the Pyramids. Closing the evening news, the announcer says that if the Begin-Sadat talks go as well as those between the Egyptian and Israeli television crews covering the events, then peace is right around the corner.

How much difference has it made? How long will it last? Who knows? But certainly in some minds (not all) there has been a transformation. Boaz Evron, a leading political commentator known for his dovish views, wrote in *Yediot Aharanot*:

I ran into a friend of mine, a man I have known for many years, who is a dyed-in-the-wool hard-liner. He used to tell me how peace was impossible, that protracted war was good for Israel. Now he has a big smile on his face. "Isn't it incredible?" he says. "Can you believe this is really happening? I never believed I would live to see the day when the headlines would read SADAT ARRIVES TOMOR-

ROW; BEGIN EXPECTED TO BE INVITED TO CAIRO."

I, too, have been reading this headline over and over again, and in spite of all I have written on peace, I still can't believe what I see with my own eyes.

For others, however, the very disruption of established ways of thinking about Arab-Israeli relations is disorienting. I talked with Abraham Halevy, a 62-year-old Yemenite observant Jew who has always voted for Likud—"even when one was ashamed to admit it in public"—and who is sympathetic with the aim of the Gush Emunim movement to plant Jewish settlements on the West Bank. He told me he was worried.

"No doubt Sadat's visit is a great event, but Sadat is coming here for a reason. He is coming to tell us we have a choice between returning to the 1967 borders and accepting as our neighbor a Palestinian state, and war. That is why I am worried. I do not want a Palestinian state."

Indeed those were the alternatives Sadat presented later in the Knesset. I asked Mr. Halevy how he would choose. From the pained expression on his face it was clear that he has never before had to think about the problem in quite such realistic terms. As long as there was no one to talk to, there was no need to think about concessions, particularly since Israel seemed to be doing quite well under the current status quo. Though I insisted, he didn't want to answer; I was making him uncomfortable. Finally, after several false starts, he replied:

"Better the Palestinians return to Israel and live with us here as citizens than create a state dedicated to our destruction."

His wife was listening; she was shocked to hear him propose what the Arabs have been calling for and Israel has been rejecting for 30 years. She screamed at him:

"But they multiply like rabbits. I never liked the Arabs. My family has been here 70 years, and we know what they are like. They are liars, cheats, hypocrites. In the market before there was a state, they used to threaten us when they came to buy tomatoes."

"Yes," said her husband, "but if they come back, at least we will be able to control them. If they are on our border, they can do whatever they like."

I began to press Mrs. Halevy to explain what solution she would like to see, but she refused to answer, said she didn't know and left the room. This is what Sadat's visit has occasioned in one Israeli family that once was certain what it did and did not want.

All Will Be Well

In Ramat Gan, a suburb of Tel Aviv, the Rubinek family showed a different reaction. In their 60's, both husband and wife are survivors of the Holocaust; she was in a concentration camp four years. They met in a displaced persons camp in Germany and came to Israel in 1949; now they operate a "Ma and Pa" grocery store. Both voted for Yadin's Democratic Movement for Change in the last elections, switching from Labor because they believed the party had lost its integrity. They support territorial compromise and a solution to the Palestinian problem.

Watching Sadat's arrival on television, Mr. Rubinik was visibly excited, sitting on the edge of his chair. "I just know that everything is going to be all right. No matter what happens next, this is a new age, and everything is going to be all right." His wife, sitting further from the television, with a sad, almost pained expression on her face, mumbled, half to herself, half to anyone who cared to listen. "But there is the Palestinian problem, we are going to have to make concessions." Clearly she was holding her hopes in check. "You'll see," her husband replied, "everything is going to be all right. Begin will make more concession than even Carter wants. Everything is going to be fine," he said again—pleading with his wife to let him enjoy, just this once, the luxury of being unrealistic and ecstatic.

I asked them the same question I had put to the Halevys: How much are you willing to give for peace? Mr. Rubinik replied that in principle she saw no reason why Israel should keep the territories or why the Palestinians should not have a state of their own.

"But we need strategic depth. What will happen after 'peace'? They have attacked us so many times before. We are so few and they are so many. Why do the Palestinians want a state? So it will be easier to destroy us? I don't care if they get a state, but I am afraid it will just endanger us more, that they and the Russians will gang up on us again."

"That's right," her husband interrupts. "Why have the Russians, who say they love peace so much, attacked Sadat for coming to Israel?" The question came painfully; it was the first dent in his elation. He would really like an answer.

"You see," Mrs. Rubinik continued, "all the world is against us Jews." Mr. Rubinik, though a bit embarrassed by this overt display of trauma, did not contradict her. Instead, as an illustration of the truth of what she had said, he recalled how he was treated by Polish Communist partisans after he escaped from a concentration camp. "They let me join them, there were already a few of us Jews. One day, when we went into the town to get supplies, the local townspeople started throwing rocks, calling us Jew-lovers. When we returned to the forest that night the non-Jews turned on us and told us to leave. You just cannot trust non-Jews."

And yet Sadat's visit has had a positive effect on the Rubiniks. It confirms their own instinct that it pays to

be generous. Much of what they told me is used by others to rationalize the toughest, most callous actions of the Israeli government. But the Rubiniks are just afraid. One feels that for them, particularly for Mrs. Rubinik, there will never be peace. Even if there is a lasting settlement, she will not have peace.

Now, everything is epilogue: Sadat has gone home. Israelis trying to telephone Cairo find they can't. "There is something wrong with the connection on the other side, you cannot get through," the operator says. No permanent bridge has been built; Israel and Egypt are still at war.

The Ice Is Breaking

But something has changed. When Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, the day after Sadat left, told the Likud's top leaders that hard decisions must be made soon, he meant decisions about Israeli concessions. Defense Minister Weizman, a leading member of Begin's own Herut faction of the Likud, told a television audience he was very optimistic. Just as important, people like the Halevys, despite their distrust, and the Rubiniks, despite their fears, are also newly hopeful.

Who, after all, could forget that for the first time in 30 years an Arab leader has broken the taboo against meeting the Israelis face-to-face anywhere but on the battlefield? Who could watch Sadat praying at the famous mosque, Al Aksa, without marveling at his courage, knowing that at any moment he could be felled by a Palestinian sniper, just as was King Abdullah, the last Arab leader to come to Jerusalem for peace? And who could not be impressed when Sadat and Begin, asked whether each was convinced of the other's sincere desire for peace, both answered with an unequivocal "yes?"

On the political level there are rumors of dissatisfaction among the more liberal members of the Likud because Begin's speech to the Knesset offered nothing to match the concession Sadat was making, or the risks he was taking, by his very presence. While Sadat was still in the country, the Democratic Movement for Change, though a Likud partner in the Government, publicized its differences with Begin (and was severely reprimanded by him). Discussions have begun in the Labor Party over whether to join the government coalition in order to pressure Begin more effectively. It does not seem too much to say that a national consensus is emerging that supports territorial concessions and a Palestinian solution (probably through a federation of the West Bank-Gaza territories and Jordan). If this continues—and, of course, much depends on events elsewhere—Begin may find himself isolated, unless he himself comes forth with a more realistic bargaining position.

In either case, Sadat will have accomplished in his visit what no Israeli peace movement (or any American President) has been able to accomplish through three decades. By inspiring Israelis to think of peace as a real possibility, he will have helped them to recover a sense of having a hand in their own destiny. By showing that there is someone to talk to, Sadat has set the Israelis thinking furiously about what they should say. □

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Continuing the Discussion

How to Argue About Abortion: II

A new struggle over abortion policy will take place in Washington and in state legislatures next year. Hence the continuing relevance of the debate in these pages. It should be noted that the Lindermayers' response refers only to Burtchaell's original statement.

Beverly Harrison

THIS JOURNAL HAS NOW devoted a considerable number of column inches to the argument launched last Oct. 3 with the publication of "A Call to Concern" (cf. issues of Oct. 31 and Nov. 14). Is there anything more that can usefully be said? Obviously, I think so.

I was one of the signers of "A Call," and therefore one of the targets of Professor James Burtchaell's attack upon it in the November 14 issue. I want to underline immediately that in commenting on Burtchaell's response I speak only for myself. Not all the other signers (and perhaps few of them) will agree with my conclusions.

Those of us who signed "A Call to Concern" did so out of conviction that such a statement was of urgent import in the present national debate on the question of public abortion policy. Each of us would have preferred a slightly different word or phraseology at one or another point in the text; many of us would have wished to have certain other things said about which the text is silent. The major aim of the statement was not the development of a particular view regarding the morality of abortion, for the signers are not of one mind on that question. Our aim was to speak to selected aspects of the discussion about the morality of abortion, and especially to comment upon matters that bear upon the most urgent public policy debates regarding abortion. The major concern of many of us was to correct the widespread impression that all religious ethicists, or nearly all, favor an emphatic shift of public policy away from the parameters established in the 1973 Supreme Court decision.

The text of the "Call" is not without its weaknesses. It is vulnerable at some points to possible misinterpretations, and I would have preferred a slightly more

nuanced way of stating the problems of the absolutist position we criticized. However, Burtchaell's text does seem to me to exemplify several of the criticisms we made of the absolutist position.

Burtchaell charges that the "Call" is a "political manifesto" whose "rhetoric is not very professional." As indicated, those of us who signed the original statement did so with full political intent for which I, at least, make no apology. We believed, and I continue to believe, that the atmosphere in which public policy debate on abortions is now occurring demands plain speaking. I am content to let readers judge whether Burtchaell's general characterization is fair, and whether "manifesto" appropriately describes what we have written.

What concerns me about Burtchaell's rejoinder is the way his argument moves to rule out the moral standing of those who do not agree that abortion, *per se*, is homicide. Initially he uses the term abortion, unobjectionably enough, to refer to any termination of fetal life. However, he shifts to define abortion as "homicide" (which he tells us is a neutral term) without offering any justification. In passing, he contends that the view that life begins before birth "is not really an ethical judgment, nor one upon which biologists quarrel as do divines." This comment about scientific consensus evidently is intended to assure his readers that the force of unanimous scientific opinion supports the "homicide" position.

Limits of Science

If this is what he means, then objection must be entered. Obviously, biological scientists agree that life begins before birth. As a matter of fact, the *biological point of view*, as a heuristic of human inquiry, takes the continuity in the chain of life as a presupposition. Life continuity is in fact a theoretical *presumption* of biological science rather than a factual claim. No one who did not adopt this hypothesis would be "doing" biology. To ask after the origin of life biologically is to ask after the dividing line between inorganic matter and organic substances that carry the power of generation internally. But that, of course, is not what the moral controversy about the beginning of human life is all about.

What is at stake in the moral debate is the question about when, in a continuous biological process, we are wisest to predicate a fetus' standing as a person, morally and under law. Anyone who ignores this difference in the scientific and moral paradigms is

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committing the naturalistic fallacy in moral argument, and is invoking the "authority" of science rhetorically. In a recent article, J. Phillip Wogaman reports a comment geneticist Joshua Lederberg made recently to a group of theologians and philosophers. Lederberg insisted that they must first tell him what they meant by "human" before he could tell them at what point human life begins.

It would clear the air in the abortion debate if we all conceded that biological science will not relieve us of the burden of moral judgment in this matter. In any case, what the "Call" contended was that the status of fetal life is but one moral factor in the complicated question about the morality of a decision regarding abortion. In response to our argument that a true "pro-life" position "must not be limited to concern for the unborn; it must also include a concern for the quality of life as a whole," Burtchaell asks: "Do the signers really believe that some people should protect their health and quality of life by other people's deaths?"

Obviously, this is a rhetorical question. Almost as obviously, it is also a rhetorical trick, and not a worthy one. It is precisely the nature of abortion that is in dispute—and yet Burtchaell, by the phrasing of his question, imposes his own moral judgment (that every abortion constitutes "the death of a person") as the only possible standard.

A second major objection I have to Burtchaell's text is the way he characterized what is actually occurring in terms of public policy and abortion practice. In face of the "Call's" insistence that "the health and well-being of the mother and family, the question of emotional and economic resources, and cases of extreme deformity" are relevant moral factors, he asserts that "the evidence shows that about five percent of the abortions in this country are performed in the face of these kinds of misfortunes." At a later point he asserts that 99 percent of abortions "have nothing to do with anyone's health." These statistics are incredible on their face (even if, with respect to the second claim, one uses the most biologically reductionist definition of "health"). By such means readers are invited to envisage an existing situation in which the vast majority of abortions are flippantly sought out of whim and caprice, and only a minuscule number of abortion decisions made in the face of genuine and agonizing human dilemmas faced by women and their families.

This sort of misrepresentation is extended to the public policy question at still another point. Burtchaell makes the flat assertion that the 1973 Supreme Court decision "in opposition to the considered judgment of the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government, *legitimated* abortion on demand" (my emphasis). It is objectionable enough to imply that anyone who supports a *specified but limited*

legal option of choice for abortion is in favor of "abortion on demand," but in addition this characterization of the Court's decision is patently false. The Court adjudicated a range of competing claims (see Roger Shinn's article, Sept. 19 issue) and limited the option of free choice to the first trimester of pregnancy.

The suggestion that "abortion on demand" is now our operative social policy sets the stage for a further misrepresentation of what is happening on this issue at present. Burtchaell offers a totally benign and misleading reading of what is at stake in the move to secure a constitutional amendment of abortion. This amendment, he tells us, "would leave Congress and the states free once again to enact publicly desired laws protecting the unborn." It is a matter of public record that various versions of a so-called "Human Life Amendment" (HLA) have been proposed. There is, however, wide support in the pro-life movement for Jesse Helms' proposal, which declares that "from the moment of fertilization every human being . . . shall be deemed to be a person and entitled to the right to life." What is being pressed for is "an anti-abortion amendment." No one is seeking to return the matter to the Congress and states, save as they must do so to get constitutional standing for the fetus. Any suggestion that the drive for a constitutional amendment is aimed at leaving "Congress and states free once again to enact publicly desired laws protecting the unborn" is not credible. The aim is to limit the option for abortion as drastically as possible by granting a fetus constitutional standing.

Uses of Polls

Burtchaell makes HLA politics seem unobjectionable in yet another way. He invokes a broad consensus about the morality of abortion by conflating findings from a range of public opinion polls on the issue. Needless to say, he is correct that the majority of Americans—and perhaps most of the signers of "A Call to Concern"—agree that there should be some restrictions on abortion. It is also true that a majority of Protestants and Catholics believe that not wanting more children is an unacceptable reason for having an abortion. What is not mentioned is that numerous polls show that Jewish citizens regularly and strongly favor broad grounds for choice regarding abortion. The reason, of course, is that they view abortion in a different religious and moral framework. Equally important, Burtchaell omits mention of the large number of polls which show that slightly over half of the public support the Supreme Court decision.

To be sure, public opinion does not a morality make. But this way of mobilizing data allow Burtchaell to portray a consensus sympathetic to the aims of HLA politics. He also uses these data to refute a charge that the "Call" most emphatically did *not* make—that this politics is a matter of Catholics imposing their viewpoint on the rest of society.

No doubt it was the "Call's" explicit, though limited, criticism of the Roman Catholic bishops and the mobilization of Roman Catholic dioceses that has opened the statement to many of the strenuous objections lodged against it. For my own part, I wish

Winter Schedule

In accordance with our schedule we will publish one issue in January. The next number, which will complete our thirty-seventh year of publication, will be dated January 16.

we had said more about what we find objectionable in the mobilization going on. As it is, the original text did rest too much on the reference to “massive financial contributions” of Catholic dioceses to the HLA movement. Burtchaell’s statement that the National Committee for the Human Life Amendment (NCHLA) has received \$280,000 from Catholic dioceses this year is not one I can verify. What is a matter of unrefuted public record is that between January 1976 and March 1977, Catholic dioceses contributed at least \$459,000 to the NCHLA. Nor do his figures reflect financial contributions from Roman Catholic parishes to state pro-life committees, which in New York State alone are considerable.

I cannot here rehearse all of the objections I have to the Roman Catholic “Pastoral Plan for Pro-Life Activities,” especially its program of implementation. (I invite readers unfamiliar with it to study it in detail. Copies are available from the United States Catholic Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C. 20005). In brief, it is clear that at the level of implementation the effort to secure “a constitutional amendment to protect the unborn child” is not only the top priority but the overriding focus of mobilization efforts. (See Archbishop Bernardin’s speech reported in *The New York Times*, Aug. 17.) The central focus enjoined on the diocesan committee is to coordinate efforts with pro-life groups. “. . . It is absolutely necessary to encourage the development in each congressional district of an identifiable, tightly-knit and well-organized pro-life unit,” whose “range of action is limited, that is, it is focused on passing a constitutional amendment.” To this end, 12 sub-goals are stipulated, which, in totality, make it plain that other considerations notwithstanding, the goal is the election of politicians who support an amendment and other pro-life issues, though the bishops have endorsed no bill in particular.

Signers of the “Call” did not need Professor Burtchaell’s reminder to know that Roman Catholics are deeply divided on the abortion issue, perhaps particularly so on this mobilization recommended by their hierarchy. We are also aware that other churches and religious groups strongly support the HLA mobilization. Readers will have to decide whether the criticism we made of the Catholic bishops and this diocesan mobilization constitutes “bigotry.” (Burtchaell’s charge of bigotry was broader, of course, since he credits us with views about Roman Catholics generally that were neither made nor implied.)

Those of us who believe that a Human Life Amendment (or an “antiabortion amendment,” as its proponents usually call it) would be a public policy tragedy of the highest order have, I believe, good reason to criticize the Roman Catholic bishops on this matter. For my part, I believe that such an amendment would have the profoundest negative consequences on the shaping of the life history of every female child born into this society. At a time when even the meager Federal and private funding for contraception research has been cut back dramatically (and I am sad to have to remind readers that the cutting of Federal funds for contraception also remains a priority goal of the Catholic bishops, according to the *New York Times’* report of Archbishop Bernardin’s speech alluded to earlier), the

meaning of any proposed constitutional amendment would have to be considered in these terms! I am perfectly well aware that the mention of the effect that public policy regarding abortions has on the lives of female persons is a red flag to many. Be that as it may, the proposed amendment requires address to this issue as never before.

Competing Claims

Burtchaell’s final charge about “A Call to Concern” is that “it simply fails to address what is a serious ethical position: that the unborn deserve protection of their rights, as do we all, and that the laws of the land ought not to allow them to be put to death for our convenience.” Many of us who support the Supreme Court decision do so because we believe that a social policy should address the sometimes competing claims of the unborn and of pregnant women. Women, too, including poor women doubly disadvantaged in this society, must have some protection for the rights of their persons. For us, this moral claim cannot be suppressed for many reasons, not least that the life process is a continuum, and the conceptus begins not merely “in” but as a part of a woman’s body.

That the 1973 Supreme Court decision sets parameters that are ethically defensible could be morally implausible only to those for whom the morality of abortion reduces to the single issue of the status of fetal life—the absolutist position we criticized.

Unfortunately, I find Burtchaell’s argument all too characteristic of what is so exasperating in the argument of many who support the absolutist position. He and many others simply will not grant any moral and religious standing to those of us who differ from their view. It is one thing to disagree violently on questions of morality and public policy. It is another to define one’s opponents out of the moral argument altogether. □

James T. Burtchaell, C.S.C.

MY PROBLEM with the “Call to Concern” was that it was an intellectually careless piece of work, far inferior to what many of its signers, my colleagues in the field of religious ethics, usually put out over their names.

The abortion debate is a snarl of ethical and political issues that we would do well to untangle from one another, even though they should be bound together by a few appropriately placed knots. Let me try to speak to both kinds of issues as positively as I can, while answering the questions Beverly Harrison raises.

JAMES T. BURTCHAELL, C.S.C., is professor of theology at the University of Notre Dame.

To begin with, since the abortion debate is such an antagonized one, we should try to set aside those matters that need *not* be argued, either because they are granted by thoughtful persons on all sides, or because they are well-established facts rather than judgments subject to dispute. First, then, let it be agreed that some people turn to abortion as a measure of relief from serious tragedy: danger to a mother's life; sure or likely deformity of the child; pregnancy from rape or incest; pregnancy of a very young, disadvantaged and naive teenager. Women and men do face these and similar misfortunes, which should should command sympathetic and patient (and financial) support.

It is an equally true and verified fact that very few of the abortions in America today are motivated by any such misfortune. The public appeal for legitimization of abortion bears little conformity to what is really occurring, and the "Call" seems to accept it uncritically. The most telling arguments are for mothers in danger of death, and for victims of rape or incest, and for mothers of deformed children. The published statistics reveal that these particular causes do not loom large in abortion decisions.

To illustrate: Luker's California Study (1975) reports that in 1970, 1.1 percent of legal abortions were for physical reasons, and .7 percent for rape/incest. Hilgers and Shearin (1971) report that in a two-year period and the course of 5,102 deliveries without a single maternal death in a St. Louis hospital, only one abortion was necessary to save the life of the mother. A 1971 HEW study, *The Effects of Changes in State Abortion Laws*, notes the highest proportion of abortions performed for health reasons: 4.8 percent. The Center for Disease Control, DHEW, Abortion Surveillance Reports are now showing that the percentage distribution of abortion patients is inversely related to the number of children already had, casting into doubt the degree to which abortion is sought by tired mothers of large families. Kramer's New York Study (1975) shows that although abortions are being sought by poor black women as a means of birth control, its incidence increases with affluence, raising questions about the widely accepted correlation between poverty and abortion.

I do not say that "whim" or "caprice" lie behind most abortion decisions. Who could discern such personal motivation? What I am saying is that the case for abortion is being pleaded for one set of women and the abortions are being performed on another.

A third matter about which there should be no legitimate doubt is the sincerity of many partisans on both sides of the argument. Despite their energetic, bitter disagreement, many supporters of abortion liberalization and of the pro-life movement rival one another in their dedication to human need and in their records of service.

Fourth, it is possible to ascertain fairly accurately where public opinion stands. National polls commissioned through the 1960s and 1970s by social scientists favorable to abortion have shown repeatedly that a strong majority of Americans hold these convictions: 1) Human life and personhood begins before birth (largest opinion: at conception); (2) abortion should be a crime except to save the woman's life or if the child is deformed; (3) after the third month it should

be unlawful in any case; (4) it should be unlawful without the husband's consent; and (5) it should not be permitted except in hospitals. These judgments are expressed by males and by females, by Catholics and by non-Catholics. These are the judgments which Anglo-American common law, the elected legislators and governors, and in some states the ballots of the voters at large had formed into the law of the land in 46 states—until those laws were set aside by the Supreme Court decisions of 1973 and since.

Polls and Politics

Now I agree with Beverly Harrison that "public opinion does not a morality make." It does, however, a democracy make. It deserves clear notice because, whatever one's ethical judgment, one must yield to the majority in matters of public policy. Harrison seems to think I lined up the polls in a slanted fashion. Public opinion surveys, of course, are at odds with one another on the abortion issue. To avoid being misled by biased or haphazard studies, I have relied on Judith Blake, one of the nation's most distinguished demographers. I chose her data as most reliable because she has been conducting research on exactly this subject for over a decade, and because she is emphatically favorable to abortion. See her latest article in *Population and Development Review* 3:45-62 (March, June 1977).

Fifth, despite the creation by the 1973 decision of an abortion industry staffed by medical personnel, most persons in the medical profession resist abortion as a procedure alien to their pursuits. Most physicians will not perform them. There is an even firmer refusal among nurses—mostly women. And abortions are still tolerated in only about one-fifth of the country's hospitals.

A sixth fact is that the 1973 decisions made abortion on demand the law of the land. This is not understood by Dr. Harrison, who describes the result as "a specified but limited legal option of choice for abortion." The opinion of the court, written by Justice Blackmun, is quite unequivocal. During the first three months of pregnancy a woman is absolutely free to abort her child. No governmental authority is permitted to interfere. During the next trimester governmental authority may intervene only to safeguard her health, by requiring the abortion to take place in a licensed medical facility. During the last trimester the state is free to extend some legal protection to the offspring, but it is not free to prevent abortion if the mother's health requires it.

Thus any woman may, up to the end of the ninth month, secure an abortion if a doctor sees it as "in the light of all factors—physical, emotional, psychological, and the woman's age—relevant to the well-being of the carrier." Any "limited legal option" here is illusory. As lawyer John Noonan explains: "For the nine months of life within the womb the child is at the carrier's disposal—with two restrictions. She must find a licensed clinic after month three and an abortionist who says she needs an abortion after month six." (*The Liberty of Abortion in America*, forthcoming). This is abortion on demand.

Having acknowledged these things at the start, how should one make a moral judgment about abortion? I

hold that the life of every fellow human must be respected, preserved and even protected. We must defer to others' lives, not simply to gain and repay a like protection from others, nor just to avoid the penalties of the law, nor merely because every human being has a right to his or her life, a right which deserves priority over every other human right, need or desire. We must defer for still another reason: If we deal unjust injury or violent death to others, we shall bring upon ourselves a death of the spirit—a violent death. Those who kill, die.

I hold that, so far as we best can tell, a human person's life begins at conception. Neither birth nor any transition leading up to it serves as a true beginning, unless we talk biological nonsense. A new organic being, with different genetics, distinct health, even different (half the time) gender, is implanted within his or her mother. Physically, from the time this being is first composed, it is never biologically a "part of the woman's body." Of course an unborn child does not speak or work or give her or his love to others (nor does a newborn child; nor, for that matter, some handicapped people long since born). But it is terribly important that we give the basic protection of life-loyalty to *all* fellow humans, not only to those who suit us as valuable contributors to society.

Who Shall Live?

Harrison states the question as "when, in a continuous biological process, we are wisest to predicate a fetus' standing as a person, morally and under law." What I am contending is that any living individual of the human species is a human, a person. What is being argued in some quarters (possibly not by Harrison) is that "human" or "person" are special categories of being for which there are minimum performance requirements. This would have us believe that there are humans who are not legal persons. I want to learn wherein this differs from the Hitlerian doctrine that supported the Final Solution to the Jewish Question. Under the Third Reich it was not enough to be a human to keep the right to live. One had to have certain other qualities. Because Jews and gypsies lacked these qualities, they were destroyed. My position is that no one has the power to decide what qualities others must have to avoid being killed. *Any* human being, however troublesome, merits the right to life.

Abortion, then—the willful and violent killing of an unborn human being—is homicide. By this neutral term I mean simply the killing of a human. We talk of accidental and deliberate and justifiable homicides. Is there such a thing as a justifiable abortion? Here I would argue that if we claim any honesty we must hew to the same principles in evaluating abortion as govern our judgments on any other form of homicide.

Some maintain that all deliberate killing is wrong. Better, they argue, to accept violence at the hands of others than to take up weapons and end ourselves as death-dealers. Others, likewise committed to life, would say that homicide could be justified under certain conditions, e.g., to protect oneself or some innocent third party from mortal, undeserved attack. On the latter view it might be justifiable to destroy a child were that clearly the only way to save his or her

mother's life. But there is no consistent, responsible moral way, from either point of view, to justify the killing of innocent offspring to relieve his or her elders of any inconvenience, no matter how severe the distress.

It is no less savage to abort a deformed child than to exterminate a retarded adult. It is no more justifiable to abort a child in order to conceal adultery than to murder a witness about to give evidence in a trial. One cannot fairly allow a child to be destroyed because he or she was conceived by rape or incest, without also allowing the elimination of illegitimate children.

My argument is straightforward. Abortion is homicide: the destruction of a child. Save for the rare, rare instance when it is a mortal threat to a mother's life to carry her child to birth, there is no abortion that is not the unjust taking of another's life because it is a burden to one's own.

Someone has reckoned that about 80 percent of the murders in this country find close family or business associates as victims. We have in us this strange and desperate ability, this selfish madness, to blind our mind's eye towards those nearest us, to see them as insignificant, as nothing really human. We depersonalize our victims before killing them. So with abortion.

In opposing it I am in *no way* insensitive to the plight of mothers who are frightened 13-year-olds, or supporting six children on welfare, or having to drop out of college because of one night's foolishness. I simply say that these are not misfortunes that justify anyone in raising his or her hand to kill. They are not trivial miseries. But to allege them as cause for abortion reminds me too much of the excuses for the massacre at My Lai, and for the bondage of the slave trade, and for the industrial poisoning in Minamata, Japan.

I do not wish to donate on Tuesday to the March of Dimes for medical research on the health of the unborn, and on Thursday to Planned Parenthood to keep crippled children from ever surviving till birth. I want no part of the insanity that sends police into the privacy of homes to stop parents from battering and scalding their four-month-old babies to death, and then uses the same force of law to guarantee the "privacy" of parents to grind up their babies four months before birth. I have no stomach for a society which sees that in many of its homes children are unwanted, and would rather exterminate the children than heal the parents. And though I try to be patient, I do become exasperated when told that since I am a Catholic I have somehow lost my civil right to make public and legal appeal for the lives of the young marked down for death, or that I am imposing my private religious notions on the majority of my fellow-citizens, when it is clear to anyone willing to inquire that it is the minority of citizens that at present uses the law to kill.

Freedom Vs. Freedom

Women have a right to reproductive freedom, I hear it argued, and I agree: *all* women, even little girls yet unborn who have the right to be free to grow to the age when they in their turn can make love and have babies. Women should control their own bodies, it is said, and I agree; but not the bodies of their children.

Make abortions illegal, we hear it said, and they will still go on, but in the back streets, and I agree. Yet rape goes on despite our laws; should it no longer be a crime? And if the day came when the nation was no longer willing to go on record that rape was criminal, would there not be more of it? Can anyone who knows that we record 1,115,000 abortions a year in America imagine that most of these would have occurred without the legal protections of 1973?

Drive abortion underground, it is said, and young women will die by the septic coathanger. Yes, just as the young women of the Weather Underground who blew themselves up making bombs. I mourn them all, but I mourn more for their innocent victims—and differently.

Make abortion a criminal act, we hear it said, and only the rich will be able to afford it. Yes, but then the rich have always been better able to afford their vices. I would as soon buy abortions for the poor as buy them heroin. Abortions will go on! Why not at least see that they be done cleanly and safely? Yes, say I, and so shall hatred and murder go on, but I shall not use the tax monies to give sniper-scopes to the Klan or dum-dum bullets to the Mafia.

But back to the *point*, the much-avoided point, the chief and only point at issue: To abort is to destroy one's son or daughter.

Ethically, I hold that abortion is wrongful except to save the mother's life. My *political* position is different and must be, since the American people, while opposed to abortion on demand, are willing to permit abortion in the first trimester, to save the mother's life, after rape or incest, or if the child is deformed. Though I believe this position intellectually inconsistent and morally faulty, I am willing to plead for it as public policy because it is what the majority of citizens and their legislators stand for, and because it would be morally more tolerable than what we have.

Now the Catholic bishops, so far as I can discern from their published statements, hold these same positions. It makes sense for those who judge differently to oppose them—as ethicists, by moral argument; as citizens, by political organization. But wherein do the bishops act inappropriately? If they believe abortion is homicide, and in most instances unjustified, and if they assess that the public largely, if not totally, agrees, should they *not* direct their efforts toward incorporating that political conviction into law?

Harrison somehow has the idea that the amendment introduced by good Carolina Baptist Jesse Helms is a crypto-Catholic move. Not so. The wise money says that the most viable amendment is one that will simply include unborn humans within the ordinary protection of the Constitution, leaving implementation up to the states. This Harrison says is not credible. The bishops, testifying in 1974 before a Senate subcommittee, said they had no amendment to propose, but believed any version should include these points:

"1. Establish that the unborn child is a person under the law in the terms of the Constitution from conception on. 2. The Constitution should express a commitment to the preservation of life to the maximum degree possible. The protection resulting therefrom should be universal. 3. The proposed amendment

should give the states the power to enact enabling legislation, and to provide for ancillary matters such as record-keeping, etc. 4. The right of life is described in the Declaration of Independence as unalienable and as a right with which all men are endowed by the Creator. The amendment should restore the basic constitutional protection for this human right to the unborn child."

Lastly I come to Dr. Harrison's greatest grievance, which I am sure she shares with many others. She objects that, in my arguments about abortion, I "will not grant any moral and religious standing to those of us who differ."

Well, no and yes.

Not true, in the sense that in my response to the "Call" and again here I have been trying to draw the attention of fellow ethicists to what is not the only issue, but is a critical issue: What are the grounds for arguing that human life begins at any point other than conception, or for arguing that human beings should be cloaked with the protection of law any time but *at* the beginning? To raise this issue, by expressing my own judgment, is not to express contempt or rule others out of the argument.

True, in the sense that I can offer no moral compliments for a position which abets the violent destruction of more than a million innocent American children a year. No doubt it is exasperating for the signers to see that judgment made. The theologians of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa must experience a similar exasperation, when their fellow Christians elsewhere question their moral standing, and insist repeatedly that they are missing the point: The blacks and coloreds really are fellow humans, and their rights really must be protected, despite the most profound negative consequences. To an Afrikaner, that would sound pretty "absolutist." □

Vivian & Eric Lindermayer

WHAT DOES IT MEAN to say, as Robert Hoyt did in "A Call to Reflection" (Oct. 31 issue), that "Abortion is a yes or no question"? It can mean at least two things. (1) "Abortion is homicide" is a yes or no question. (2) "Elective abortion in the first trimester should be legal" is a yes or no question.

It is particularly with reference to deciding whether abortion is homicide that we find Prof. James Burtchell's reasoning so disturbing. We pause when we find him equating "person," in the legal or moral sense, with "fetal life," with "fellow human," with "human life," with "life," with "human organism," with "living human." For he does not even acknowledge that it is precisely at the point of making these equations that the most fundamental aspect of the abortion controversy emerges.

To many morally conscientious people, such equa-

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tions represent dizzying jumps among different levels of discourse and a confusion of terms with meanings that range from the most figurative to the most conventional. Many simply do not know at what point a fetus should be considered a person or a "fellow human"; whereas we acknowledge that "life" begins before birth, we don't believe, or aren't sure, that "life" and "person" are the same thing. Coming to a decision in the face of such uncertainties requires an act of moral and philosophical interpretation—not the gathering of more facts. And it is clear that our society is not of one mind that abortion in the first trimester is homicide.

Once these basic equations are questioned, Burtchae's reasons for supporting a Human Life Amendment are seriously compromised. To seek to make abortion in the first trimester illegal when there is such dispute on the question of whether abortion is homicide is a position that, if not absolutist, is at least insensitive to the profound convictions of many Americans.

The charge that anti-abortionists have generally adopted absolutist positions and political programs has been a target for criticism directed at "A Call to Concern." Robert Hoyt in particular has stated (Oct. 31 and Nov. 14) that the signers of the "Call" displayed an equally absolutist position. We disagree. First, he says that the charge that anti-abortionists are absolutist is "argument by epithet . . . a case of false labeling. Abortion is a yes or no question; those who would sanction it are quite as 'absolutist' as those who would not."

There are indeed many yes-or-no issues involved in abortion, especially for those who have to act. Some decisions are inescapable; today, whether to sanction and support abortion under various circumstances is such a decision. However, deciding whether to sanction abortion is, for some, simply not the same issue as determining *for oneself* whether abortion is homicide. Many pro-choice people are profoundly undecided on the latter issue; many support legalization precisely out of respect for the difficulty of determining if abortion is homicide. Recognizing that there are people who are deeply convinced that abortion is *not* homicide and that abortion may be a moral duty, many of us favor legalization of abortion precisely *in order that* each person can act as her moral convictions dictate.

Such support is not on a par with the anti-abortionist position, which would impose *one* controversial interpretation of whether abortion is homicide and totally disregard the calls to conscience of those holding opposing views. The absolutism charged in "A Call to Concern" presumably concerns this imposition—which is an essential underpinning of the anti-abortionist position—and not merely the opposition *per se*.

Sincerity Is Not Enough

We believe, though, that to oppose abortion is to impose one's views on others in this way, to be absolutist. At least until some different type of justification is given for opposing legalization, anti-abortionists cannot separate their active opposition

from the important matter of their interpretation of whether abortion is homicide.

Second, in his response to John Bennett, Hoyt argues, in effect, that anti-abortionists "define" abortion differently, i.e., as homicide, and that their political program is justified given the convictions they hold. Hence the "activists on both sides still will not accept that their opponents really believe what they say they believe." In other words, once anti-abortionists are taken seriously, the justification of their position is clear—for them.

We accept that anti-abortionists view abortion as homicide and not to be performed, at least in most cases. We also accept Hoyt's argument that seeking a political solution to moral issue despite opposition is not wrong in all cases. It may be absolutist, but it is not always wrong. However, it clearly is not always right, nor is it always a morally sound position to take even if one accepts as true the claims underlying the position.

Whether abortion is homicide is (and appears to remain) fundamentally and ultimately a metaphysical issue. In this way it is unlike any of the cases Hoyt cites where a political campaign to affect public policy despite opposition might be morally acceptable. When a political program to enforce *legally* a highly disputed moral position is based on a metaphysical interpretation of facts, the program's justification requires more than its supporters' sincerity and conviction. The burden of proof rests on the anti-abortionists to demonstrate why a campaign to limit others' behavior is justified, without merely reiterating their controverted convictions. They must at least demonstrate that the moral position underlying the campaign does not rest upon matters of faith unique to its proponents. Any serious suspicion that the difference underlying the controversy is essentially one of religious or religiously motivated metaphysical belief must be fully addressed and put to rest at the outset. Failure to do so leaves such a program open to the charge of violating the rights of many to freedom of conscience and religious belief. To call on the proponents of such a program to bring forth such a demonstration is not to beg the question nor to ignore the strength and sincerity of their convictions.

Such a demonstration is lacking in Burtchae's statement. Indeed his appeal—without evidence—to the supposed social consensus in favor of prohibiting abortion only serves to underscore the dilemma: A majority of Americans, he tells us, have expressed the opinion that "human life begins at conception or at quickening." Allowing for a moment his equation of human life and person, it should be noted that "quickening" is usually experienced, by women having their first child, in the 20th week of pregnancy, well into the second trimester!

There are two further points in Burtchae's rejoinder that disturb us. Burtchae states—again without citing evidence—that only about five percent of abortions are performed in the face of "misfortune" such as extreme deformity, the mother's and family's health and well-being, lack of emotional and economic resources. It is unclear whether he is referring here to all the concerns enumerated by the "Call" or just to cases of deformity, and this unclarity is most unfortunate, given his additional statement that most abortions are abortions of expediency.

What does his “expediency” mean? Given that many do not accept Burtchaell’s metaphysics, are we to believe that the concerns enumerated by the “Call”—such as the question of emotional resources or the well-being of the family—are mere matters of expedience? Or, if Burtchaell considers that such concerns may justify abortion, are we to assume that most abortions are decided upon not for reasons of such moral weight by the most capricious or stupid of women who choose to terminate a pregnancy either because they do not “want” a child—Do they not “want” it in the same sense one doesn’t want dessert?—or because a child is inconvenient—in the same sense that an appointment is inconvenient? We reject such a stereotype of women and would be interested in hearing not only the precise evidence on which Burtchaell bases this claim but also what he considers to be reasons of expediency.

Judge Not . . .

Indeed, we find a distressing echo of this same attitude in Hoyt’s statement that “one hears women who speak of their abortions as inconveniences like dental appointments.” Serious moral issues cannot be decided on the basis of hearsay, stereotypes or long-distance inferences on the psychology and sense of moral responsibility of individuals. We would also advise more caution in passing judgments based on the *style* a person uses to discuss matters of moral and emotional consequence. Casual language that appears to indicate avoidance of the seriousness of a decision does not always reflect a simple failure to grasp one’s responsibility; it may rather indicate an accurate awareness of one’s isolation in the midst of censure, desperation at the lack of moral and social support, or fear in the face of the awesomeness of one’s decision. To cite such cases as problems specifically for those who would legalize abortion is shortsighted. To assume, as Hoyt seems to do in stating further that the number of abortions exceeds the number of live births, that such cases are *caused* by the legalization of abortion is to mistake for cause the effect of more fundamental psychological or social processes.

We do not believe that the justification for legalization of abortion is necessarily weakened, even when a person shows a genuine lack of appreciation for the responsibility of having an abortion. Would any anti-abortionist argue that the vote be denied to those, or because of those, who display little responsibility as members of the electorate?

Having the right to make a decision based on one’s moral convictions may well be a necessary first step for some in developing the responsibility such a decision entails. And are those who are not prepared emotionally or morally to exercise the full responsibility involved in conception and then in deciding to have an abortion prepared to bear the responsibility of caring for and raising a child? One must be capable of deciding responsibly whether to have a child before one can fully accept the responsibility of raising a child. To deny anyone the ability to do the former is, we believe, to undermine their ability to do the latter. To argue as Burtchaell does, that murder is more destructive than any of these considerations is, again,

to beg the question that is at issue.

Finally, we are very troubled by Burtchaell’s implicit attitude: “Do the signers really believe that some people should protect their health and quality of life by other people’s death?” Apart from the problem of moral interpretation already discussed, Burtchaell suggests here that for women the choice to terminate a pregnancy is necessarily a *selfish* choice between their quality of life and the well-being of the fetus. What this ignores is that for many—we would venture most—women there is a *crucial* third element that enters into their deliberations: the well-being of the child that would be. And that quality of life—not their own—is a major reason for terminating the pregnancy. In such cases threats to the well-being of the child that would be weigh more heavily on balance than concerns for the fetus or doubts about its metaphysical status. □



Saint Hereticus

Santa Claus Lives!

What to talk about at the Christmas gatherings? Surely we must have something for the children. What more could we give them than a firm faith in the existence of the reigning deity of the culture-religion of our nation, S. Claus, Esq.? If our faith is foundering, on what can we found it firmly? Surely on reason, another reigning deity of our times. The following text, if read firmly and assuredly to adults, can instill in them a new assurance which they (making the necessary translations) can then transmit to their offspring crying for belief in an era of unbelief. The only preparation needed is that one \$5 bill be placed in pocket or wallet ahead of time, for reasons that will, as the saying goes, become apparent.

After whatever initial pleasantries the occasion calls for, the substantive text may be read:

THE EXISTENCE of Santa Claus can be proved, and that in six ways:

(1) *The ontological argument.* I have in my mind the idea of a Santa Claus than which no greater can be nor be conceived. He is a most perfect Santa Claus. He has an infinite number of toys. He gives to each child all that he or she asks, and more. He can move with the speed of light, or faster if necessary. He can negotiate all chimneys, from the widest to the narrowest. Indeed, it is easier for him to get down even

the tiniest chimney than for a camel to go through the eye of a needle.

But such a Santa Claus exists not only in my mind but outside my mind as well, or else the idea in my mind would *not* be the most perfect Santa Claus, since it would lack one of the attributes of perfection, namely existence. The very idea of “the most perfect Santa Claus” necessarily involves his existence.

Objection 1: Generations ago Immanuel Kant (note the name, Immanuel) said that he could imagine a perfect \$100 bill in his pocket, but that did not mean that the \$100 bill actually existed. There was no necessary transfer from idea to reality.

Reply Objection 1: Kant’s initial premise must be rejected as fallacious. No professor has ever had, let alone been able to imagine having, \$100 in his pocket at one time. The invalidity of Kant’s premise already threatens the validity of Kant’s conclusion.

Further Reply Objection 1: Pursuing Kant’s point within a more realistic conceptual framework, I can imagine the existence of a perfect \$5 bill in my pocket. It has a portrait of Lincoln, a drawing of the Lincoln Memorial, a serial number and the signature of George Shultz. But does this idea of a perfect \$5 bill in my pocket mean that I have an actual \$5 bill in my pocket? No, said Kant. But he was wrong. For when I reach into my pocket, I do indeed find within it a \$5 bill. [Here the lecturer may employ actions suited to the text.] This amounts to a double proof, since empiricism has come to the aid of ontology, something rarely achieved in the history of philosophical theology.

Thus we have, inverting the Kantian dictum, destroyed faith in order to make room for reason and even for empirical validation. As Anselm put it so well, “*Credo ut intellicamus*,” or, “I believe in order that the reality of Santa may be true for me.”

(2) *The argument from a first clause.* Let us shift from Anselmic back to Thomistic presuppositions. As I look about the world I am aware of the existence of many clauses: subordinate clauses, dependent clauses, deponent clauses, the sanity clause and so forth. Does the existence of any of these clauses assume the status of a self-explanatory phenomenon? Of course not. We merely find ourselves involved in an infinite regress, which is no solution to the problem but only another way of stating it. And since the mind cannot rest content with an infinite regress, we are forced to posit the existence of a First Clause, itself unclausal—and this all men (the sexist language is Thomas’s, not mine) call Santa Claus, the holy or sacred clause.

The argument can assume a second form, arguing from effect to clause, e.g., from the effect (presents under the tree) to a First Clause who put them there. But this argument is already effectively present throughout our history as the clausmological argument.

Sanctions, Sanctity, Santa

(3) *The moral argument.* It is well-known that all persons can make moral distinctions. Sociological studies make abundantly clear that the moralism of our culture springs from a deep-seated belief in Santa Claus, viz: “Be good or Santa won’t leave you any-

thing.” Without this moral suasion, there would be no sense of right or wrong in human experience. But there *is* a sense of right and wrong in human experience (see above). It must therefore be grounded in the objective reality of Santa Claus.

The argument can also be stated in the following way: It is well known that the only thing upon which all church leaders are agreed is their disdain of “moralism.” Without moralism there would be little or nothing for church leaders to combat. But if there were no moralism then there would be no need for church leaders, and the very existence of church leaders could be questioned. Since (to paraphrase Reinhold Niebuhr) if that which it exists to question can itself be questioned, then it can be questioned whether its own existence is or is not questionable.

The result is that without the existence of Santa Claus, and the moralism that proceeds from him, church leaders would no longer exist, save on the basis of falsehood, deceit, illusion and fraud. Such a conclusion is unthinkable, and thus will not be thought.

(*Alternative line of rebuttal:* If Santa Claus does not exist, and this means that church leaders do not exist, such a price might be well worth paying. Here is a possible point for group discussion.)

(4) *The no-nonsense proof.* “. . . Doesn’t exist? Hell, the whole American economy depends on him.”

(5) *A series of proofs based on liberation theology.* There is one possible damaging argument against the existence of Santa Claus that is offered *con mucho gusto* or, as liberation theologians might want to say, *con mucho gustavo*. The argument states that Santa Claus is the artificial construct of a bourgeois mentality, the product of a dominant theology concerned only to make sure that the rich get richer. At the very moment when the capitalist system began to break down, shortly after the advent (note the word) of the Industrial Revolution, Santa Claus was invented by the ruling class to provide what the system itself could no longer easily provide for everyone—surplus values. Santa became a kind of *Cleus ex machina* to keep the rich happy.

Note only a few of the bourgeois capitalist imperialistic presuppositions inherent in the concept: Santa Claus visits only those with chimneys, a bare 7 percent of the world’s population. He has a whip, ostensibly for his badly exploited “eight tiny reindeer,” but clearly meant to symbolize the shop stewards of the era when children were working 12 hours a day. He smokes a pipe, symbol of a bourgeois comfort denied to the masses, full of tobacco raised by the exploitation of workers to increase the bloated profits of the greedy entrepreneurs. Instead of providing employment in overpopulated areas where it is needed, he moves his factories to the far north where he can exploit unorganized workers who are not yet apprised of the social utility of labor unions, practicing a virulent colonialism that should have been stamped out long since. He employs only elves in his sweatshop, refusing to conform to the minimal standards of an equal opportunity employer.

In the light of all of this, to improve on Voltaire, “If Santa Claus existed, it would be necessary to destroy him.” Clearly, therefore, the existence of Santa Claus would be disproved if the masses took up arms and

destroyed him, since that which has ceased to exist cannot any longer be described as existing. We thus have a *potential* disproof of the existence of Santa Claus, which could be escalated into an *actual* disproof (to employ the modalities of potentiality and actuality so dear to Aristotle), if action were undertaken by the masses, if reflection were joined with action in *praxis*. Consequently, to put it in language the masses can understand, *the perpetuation of this praxiological possibility is creatively quantifiable*. In the words of the venerable Ernst Bloch, "If Santa does not yet exist, he may one day not exist," although this form of the argument is clearly no more than a chip off old Bloch.

Dialectical Dissent

Fortunately, however, there is another way to attack the problem in which, by arguing from somewhat similar presuppositions, one can prove the existence of Santa Claus even to the satisfaction of the Marxists. The proof starts from the undoubted fact that things are *difficult* for Santa Claus. Imagine having to fit in all those odd-sized chimneys; as Woody Allen would be the first to admit (and probably has), the cleaning bills alone would be appalling. So there is a real *struggle* in the life of Santa Claus, what our British cousins would refer to (in their sensitive intonation) as the "claus struggle." It is well known that for many years people doubted the existence of the claus struggle. But the recent researches of liberation theology have established, to the satisfaction of all, that there *is* such a thing as the claus struggle. Its marx are everywhere. Indeed, had René Descartes been a citizen of the Third World and had he written in Spanish (two easily entertainable assumptions), he would undoubtedly have formulated his famous statement to read "*Lucho, luego soy*," "I struggle, therefore I am," and described it as the quintessential statement of Santa Clausness.

Since there is indeed a claus struggle, as has already been shown, then there must be a claus. For if an entity exists, those separate parts of the entity must also share in the existence of that of which they are a part. Q.E.D.

If more proof were needed, it could be found in the costume that Santa Claus always wears. For who are the proponents of the claus struggle? We know: the reds. And what color does Santa wear? We know that, too: red. The coincidence is too striking, too full of perichoretic amplitude, to be the result of mere chance. It must therefore be a further variant upon and corroboration of the argument from design, based on the design of the very garb that Santa wears.

So much for the five ways of proving the existence of Santa Claus. But there is a final way, beyond way five. We might, for convenience' sake, call it way six, save that it would be more correct to denominate it (if we can do so without blushing) as way *sex*. It is:

(6) *The argument from sexuality*. Let us immediately make clear, particularly in mixed company, that this is no invitation to prurient speculation, a fact concerning which St. Thomas himself would be the first to breathe a sigh of relief.

It is a matter of considerable interest, and even

suspicion, that the question of the sex of Santa Claus has never, in any serious way, been the subject of critical reflection (let alone *praxis*, God forbid). It seems clear that there has been a conspiracy of silence over several centuries on this most delicate but infinitely important matter—the result (it is clear) of a masculine-dominated literary and theological tradition from which it is now time to spring loose. Let us spring.

Why is it that before this moment no one has ever commented on the fact that we do not say and never have said "Saint Claus" or even "Sant' Claus," let alone "Sanctus Clausus," but always and invariably have used the feminine form "Santa Claus"? The ending is feminine in all Romance languages as well as in the Latin from which they ultimately derive. We can allow for the natural elision that over the course of time would replace the original harsh "Sancta" with the smoother, more musically appealing "*Santa*," a linguistic adaptation of which even the immortal Dante would surely have approved, traditionalist though he was in so many other ways.

The linguistic evidence, in other words, conspires to suggest, nay to establish, that Santa Claus was originally feminine and that a nefarious attempt has been made to take the original feminine verbal form and cover it over—attempt to smother it, if you will—with a masculine corporeal form. But so great is the power of the word (*verbum*, as the scholars put it) that mere corporeality (even the massive corporeality of the Santa Claus of popular myth and legend) is not sufficient to destroy it.

Ergo, when we hear the base canard that "Santa Claus is dead," we can reflect that all that has been destroyed is our own conception of Santa Claus, the way we have spoken of him, the masculine images that we have falsely and wrongfully imposed out of our cultural impoverishment.

Yes, Virginia, on one level there is no Santa Claus, and a good thing, too. The Santa Claus of commerce is dead, that overweight and noxious male image of a vengeful provider, giving only to the good and withholding from the bad, instilling in children the fear of being passed over. Freed now by the death of this distorted image, the true Santa Claus emerges unscathed by the petty speculation of human minds. May she assume her rightful place as the source of joy and hope, the guarantor of an open future. □

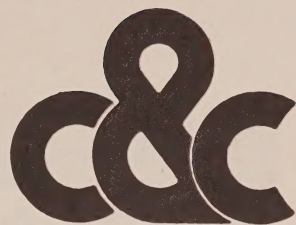
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BLACK
ANONYMOUS**

THE UPROOTING OF A PEOPLE

"WITH A HARD AND BITTER HEART" PETER BROWN

AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD

GIVE PURPOSE TO THIS PAIN HORST KLEINSCHMIDT

about this issue.

The death of Steven Biko in consequence of injuries received during police interrogation is a scandal to the world. Yet the manner of his living in his final days may be more instructive. His jailers have told us they kept him naked in his cell, naked again as he was trucked, dying, 750 miles to a prison hospital. Whether the Government of South Africa intended his death, clearly it meant to act decisively against the subversive doctrine he preached. Steven Biko believed in his own dignity as a human person. It was necessary, then, to assault his dignity, to teach him in his flesh that a black man in South Africa may not assert such a claim.

As once in Nazi Germany, so now in South Africa it is when the dignity of personhood is most systematically assaulted that we understand it best. The materials in this issue have been assembled to illuminate the challenge put to us all by a regime, however distant, that is invested with perverse, demonic doctrines of group identity. Our purpose is not, however, merely to catalogue types of suffering or to supply reasons for outrage. In future issues we will explore ways to end this oppression.

Three years ago, in his tribute to Dr. Beyers Naudé reprinted in this issue, Robert McAfee Brown predicted further difficulties for the Christian Institute of South Africa and its leader. That prophecy has now been realized. The institute and its publication, *Pro Veritate*, have been "banned"—meaning, simply, that they have been abolished. A Government "liquidator" will pay debts, sell all assets and distribute any balance to "one or more charitable or scientific organizations" chosen by the Government.

A personal banning order, of the kind visited upon Beyers Naudé and four of his associates, is an administrative punishment untouchable by judicial process. A banned person may be in the presence of only one other person at a time, may not visit schools, publications or meetings, may not be quoted by press, radio or TV, must observe a curfew, must not enter other ethnic areas. Once more, the target is *personhood*; the aim is to rob victims of their dignity and their effective presence in community: to make them nonpersons. A government that lives by such measures does not deserve to exist.

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AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD

GIVE PURPOSE TO THIS PAIN

HORST KLEINSCHMIDT

Following is the text of an address delivered October 28 to the Security Council of the United Nations during its debate on South Africa. Since his exile from South Africa, Horst Kleinschmidt has served as co-director of the "external office" of the Christian Institute of South Africa, with offices in Utrecht, The Netherlands.

MR. PRESIDENT, I want to thank you and the members of the Security Council most sincerely for giving me the opportunity to address you on the new and pressing issues which the South African regime has brought about in my country.

I would also like to express my very deep appreciation for the significant and uncompromising speeches which have been made by the majority of the countries who have addressed this Security Council debate who have proposed direct, concrete and proper action to be taken against the apartheid system.

I have worked in the Christian Institute of Southern Africa since 1972. In 1975, I was appointed as assistant to Dr. Beyers Naudé, director of the Christian Institute. One week after my appointment I was detained under the notorious Terrorism Act. After my release and after I was compelled to leave South Africa, I set up the first external office of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa in The Netherlands.

On October 19, 1977, the organization I am representing here today—along with 19 others—was officially declared a banned organization. All my colleagues in executive positions have been banned, and it has become impossible for them and our members to meet in the name of the Christian Institute.

The staff members who were banned may no longer talk to one another, as this constitutes an offense punishable by law. Some 30 conditions are imposed upon them which rob them of most of their freedoms.

All our assets have been attached by the Vorster police. This includes bank accounts, office furniture, property and vehicles. Using prison labor, the police and political police (Special Branch) removed from our offices in Johannesburg and Cape Town every file, every document, everything down to the last chair.

By describing these actions, I am not describing the

far worse acts which the South African police perform, whether the destruction of shanty dwellings in Cape Town or the torture and murder of our comrades in the prison detention centers.

But it is the sum total of this action on the part of Vorster's system which has brought about this renewed worldwide outcry against apartheid. Even some of apartheid's traditional allies seem to have had second thoughts about their relations with Pretoria. Even they seem possibly prepared to undertake certain cautious steps to stop their own further strengthening of the apartheid state.

But already it is clear that these allies of apartheid, these countries who benefit economically from the present order in my country, are prepared to apply only the most cautious of measures. I want to ask these countries what worse kinds of things need to happen to us, need to be inflicted upon us by the Vorster police, before they will take more courageous steps to end their involvement.

There was a time when we in the Christian Institute published reports about imprisonment without trial, when we reported on detentions and on torture. But in certain quarters we were not believed, we were thought to have gone too far.

How Much Is Enough?

Today, after the death of Steven Biko, we have been vindicated, and at last the facts are being accepted. It has only just become known what the true reasons for the death of Steven Biko were. The medical report done at the autopsy states that the cause of death was injury to the brain. Details of this report, which is secret until it is submitted in court at the inquest, have just been released by a Swedish journalist from the Stockholm newspaper *Expressen*. We first had to wait for the death of this significant personality in the South African struggle before it was clear enough to certain of Mr. Vorster's friends or supporters in Europe and North America that they should be more cautious in their dealings with South Africa.

From those who don't want an oil embargo, don't adhere to arms embargoes, don't want to end their

nuclear collaboration, don't want to stop the economic exploitation, we want to know: what else must Mr. Vorster do to us before certain countries will show the *political will* to actually stop strengthening apartheid.

On Wednesday, October 19, the Vorster regime performed the last act in a whole process of action over recent months which put an end to legal opposition in South Africa. The advocates of dialogue and reform have been shown through Vorster's finality that every voice of opposition will be punished by administrative action. The last few vestiges of the shaky framework within which some open opposition was still possible have finally been removed. The path for reform has ended. Total dictatorship is the path the Vorster regime has chosen. There is for my colleagues inside South Africa and for our many thousands of supporters no longer a means through which they can openly voice their dissent and act for change.

This is a historic moment for all the people of South Africa who want freedom. Their determination and will to attain this liberation are being demonstrated every day. But as of now, there is but one path left, one path only, and that is the path of our national liberation movement, the African National Congress (ANC).

We are very grateful today that our true leaders had the wisdom in years past to have mapped out the path from which none of us can detract today. We can do nothing else than to ask for our acceptance into their ranks.

The Christian Institute of Southern Africa is no liberation movement, nor does it want to become one, but I believe that many in our own ranks can and will realize that their Christian convictions demand that they also play a full part in the liberation struggle as it

is being performed by the African National Congress.

We believe that the ANC has carried in the hearts and minds of the people of South Africa the powerful tradition of resistance against racism and exploitation and that its ultimate victory will bring peace and justice to our land. In achieving this goal, the people of South Africa need to be united and it is only the ANC which can make this possible.

Vorster's policies today are the most direct provocation which will result in a race war of black against white. In my own view it is the ANC and the ANC alone which can prevent a confrontation based on race.

End of An Era

I do not believe that the events of October 19 are nothing more than mere additions to the long lists of detained people, banned people and banned organizations. No, I believe that Mr. Vorster has attempted to put an end to an era of resistance to his regime's policies. He has, through administrative action, removed visible opponents to his system. He has, I believe, put an end to the growing dissent he has had to face throughout South Africa.

At the overt level he may have succeeded. In time, of course, we may read less in newspapers about the nature of the struggle. But the people continue to suffer. Their poverty and their human subjugation are reaching yet new levels. *And* their anger and their determination to end apartheid have not been changed by these moves of the South African authorities.

Many countries in Western Europe and in North America have in recent years through certain non-governmental organizations supported in various ways emerging organizations of opposition inside

An Urgent Message

Given the date and the state of the mails, this is probably the last time we can speak to our readers on the urgency of our year-end appeal. We don't want to be shrill; we do want to make clear that the need is real. Response to date has been heartening—but of the \$53,000 required to cover our 1977 deficit, we still must raise slightly more than \$20,000. We now renew our appeal, directing it especially to three groups of subscribers:

First, to those for whom our good news of increased circulation may have translated into a judgment that our days of crisis are already past. Not so; this is a time of sowing, not of reaping, and without your help we won't last till the harvest.

Second, to those who may believe that smaller gifts (say, \$5 to \$15) will make no great difference. Statistically, that's not the way it is. Without many gifts in this range, the gap will not be spanned.

Third, to persons capable of offering larger sums. C&C has many subscribers for whom the subscription price alone is a burden. That is a healthy condition for which we are thankful; it means, however, that we must hope for a generous sprinkling of larger contributions: from \$25 to \$1000.

Of all, we ask a moment's reflection on the service this imperfect journal brings. We hope that reflection will prompt action this day.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

South Africa. Support for these organizations was often motivated by a fear for support of liberation movements (whose struggle includes a military one). By supporting internal organizations, so the argument ran, they were in fact contributing to peaceful change, to a reformist approach. I know that the Christian Institute was in certain instances the recipient of such money from abroad, prior to being declared an Affected Organization in 1975

Today the South African regime has through its own actions left us with only one conclusion to draw from this. The new situation shows beyond any doubt that all those who are offended by the present regime in South Africa have to recognize and support our national liberation movement, the African National Congress.

I wish to state again that I of the Christian Institute

of Southern Africa, a body legally existing inside South Africa until 10 days ago, am making this assessment, and I am assured that I do not stand alone in this.

The message of the oppressed people today is this:

—Take strong action to end apartheid. Don't debate whether economic sanctions will hit the poorest people worst.

The poor people ask: When does apartheid end—not when does it become more endurable?

If the South African people have to suffer, they want to suffer with hope and with an end in sight. Ameliorating measures—such as codes of employment practices—have provided no hope, they will never end apartheid, nor have they benefited those affected.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you once again for affording me the opportunity of addressing you. □

SEARCH FOR A NEW CONSCIOUSNESS BEING SOUTH AFRICAN: WHITE NADINE GORDIMER

WHAT DOES IT MEAN to be a South African? Who decides?

What does it mean to me to be a South African? Do I qualify?

Of course, only white people in South Africa ever feel the need to ask themselves or each other such questions. And this leads to the last one we shall ever have to find the answer to: Is there such a being as a white African? Who decides?

You will have had many criteria set up in answer to the first question. The geographical criterion will be generally taken for granted as inadequate; living here under Capricorn is not enough. The circumstantial one also is inadequate; living here under apartheid is not enough. The evidence is in a state of being that has passed from some people of my grandfather's generation of locals who called Europe "home" to some people of your generation who feel so detached from our ideologically-dense environment that they are

again no longer at home. There is an internal emigration that can be said to have lasted for four generations. A section of the white population has lived from conquest to decline without ever becoming South-African-conscious.

But you don't want generalizations; you will want to garner your own, from various views. What does being a South African mean to me? First of all, what are my objective claims to be one?

I was born here, yes, and to me that is a fact of deeply emotional importance, because I not only believe along with the Jesuits and Freud that the early years of a child's life are carried within that child for always, he may live and discard many phases of experience, but that one, never. I also believe that the shock of confrontation with the physical world, the first landscape you open your eyes on, the first piece of earth you stagger to your feet on, the first faces that bend over you, although they pass beyond conscious recall, put a certain stamp on your perception and interpretation of the world. When I am in Europe or America, or anywhere away from Africa, my vision of home—in that half-waking state when time and distance don't exist—is burned veld 'round mine-dumps and coal-mine slag hills. Not a romantic vision. Not

NADINE GORDIMER is a South African novelist and short-story writer with an international reputation. Among her works are *The Conservationist*, *A Guest of Honor*, *The Late Bourgeois World*, and *Occasions for Loving*. She lives in Johannesburg with her husband and two children. This article is adapted from an address to students at the University of Cape Town, as published in *South African Outlook* (June 1977).

one that most Europeans would recognize as Africa. But Africa it is. Although I find it harsh and ugly, and Africa and her landscapes have come to mean many other things to me, it signifies to me a primary impact of being; all else that I have seen and know is built upon it. Many questions to which I shall die while still working out my answers began there.

I have found that my claim to regard myself as South African by virtue of the pre-memory perceptions of birth and infancy are sometimes contested—by fellow whites. I may have been born here more than 50 years ago, but that does not mean I have been here *long enough*. I am the daughter of immigrants, my mother from England, my father from Lithuania. They weren't the sort who called Europe "home," but that doesn't help. In the opinion of some whites, it is necessary to be able to trace one's ancestry back to the Voortrekkers or the 1820 British Settlers in order to be accepted as South African.

Potato-famine Irish or pogrom-Jewish lineage is parvenu. As time goes by, and the tenure even of whites who can trace their family lines to van Riebeck is challenged by blacks, who for so long would not have been thought to have any say in the matter at all, the question of how many generations a white must have behind him in order to qualify as a South African seems quaintly irrelevant. I have an urbane Afrikaner intellectual friend, educated at Oxford and Leyden, who used to like to annoy me by clinching an argument with the observation, "How European you

are, Nadine!" Whereas he, of course—his covered-wagon pedigree and free-running childhood on a farm among black children who now live not in South Africa at all but shunted off to Gazankulu or Bophutatswana—was a real South African. I wonder how he feels about being polarized, along with the parvenu, as white, simply white, to the proposition of black consciousness.

A Given Reality

Having staked a territorial claim that goes further and further than a mere birth certificate, how does it seem to me my consciousness of being a South African took shape? Well, to go back to childhood: subconsciously, and *innocently*—by which I mean that the subconscious was storing impressions and experiences that were taken at face value. When you are a child, whatever is around you, in terms of human behavior as well as physical environment, is the way the world is. Immutable. Adults present you with a manner of life; you know of no other.

For this child there is a four-roomed house with a red stoep, a lawn in front and in the backyard a pepper tree, a room where a black servant lives. The father goes on a bicycle every day to open his shop. The child walks through the suburb of bungalows across the veld to school. Once a week she wakes to the sound of drumming and knows it is Sunday because the mine-boys are dancing at the compound. They are black, wear blankets and sometimes white ladies' church hats that have been thrown away; they pee by the roadside, they are always wandering between the mine and the town. A school friend is the daughter of the mine secretary and invites the child to the Christmas party for staff children. The children are white, like her, like all the children at school. A pet dog is run over by a neighbor; the black servant goes to see a sick brother. *That is the way things are.* There is another place where things are different: overseas; snow and robins and cowboys, a king and queen, read about in children's books. That place—the faraway—is a mystery; everything here is exactly what it is: the given facts are perfectly congruous, none stands out of category, the way an object would catch a bright child's eye in one of those puzzle pictures, meant to train the power of cognitive distinction, where a tool must be singled out among toys, or a fish on land.

A long time goes by before the facts of daily life in that small Reef town begin to be sorted into heaps, in a tentative taxonomy. The dead pet will never reappear. The mine-boys are in fact men (there's evidence of that) although they don't know men don't wear ladies' hats, and although they aren't members of the Mine Recreation Club. The servant is a woman with a



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brother—another life—she's not only "our Lettie" who embroiders pillowcases in the sun on the step of her room. The men and Lettie are black. They don't belong to clubs, they don't come on picnics, their children don't go to the Convent of Our Lady of Mercy, across the veld. The fact-sorting process speeds up; the little heaps mount, some merge. In the principle of selection, a norm is the set of facts governing the life of the child herself: If you are white, *you begin from the premise of being white*. Are they different because they are black? Or are they black because they are different?

To be born a South African is to be presented with *given* facts of race on the same level of reality as the *absolute* facts of birth and death. Perhaps that is what whites mean when they speak of the unfairness of black resentment against even "innocent white women and children" (women being honorary children); and perhaps it is what blacks mean when they argue that every white is guilty, by birth, of oppression of blacks. I have spoken and written often, in my life, of the second or rebirth many South African whites go through. I mean by this simply what happens when the child begins to realize that the fact that the black does not enter through the white's front door is not in the same category as the fact that the dead will never come back. From the childhood memories of black friends and from the writings of blacks I gather that, until very recently, and no doubt still, in vast areas of the country. Young blacks have a converse emergence into a second consciousness—when they realize that it is not in any natural and immutable order to things to call the white children's father "Baas" and "Master."

A Second Consciousness

I date the development of my consciousness of being South African rather than having any other social identity from the birth into that second consciousness. The process is essentially the discovery of the lie. The great South African lie. In disagreement with popular beliefs, I myself don't equate this consciousness with guilt—that famous guilt white-anting the South African personality comes later, with the age of reason and the shame of consent. . . . What comes of the immediate discovery of the lie is revelation; you cannot feel guilt for being conned. From the time I discovered that what was being concealed by my society was that blacks were people—not mine-boys, not our Lettie, but people, I had the opportunity to become what I think of as a South African. I had the responsibility to accept what I now knew. Which is to say that I believe that is where the identity is to be formed: working one's way through the central, definitive experience of black and white as people,

with undifferentiated claims on life, whatever else—skin, language, culture—makes them differ from one another.

Of course, I don't have to say that it is not as brusquely attainable and clear-cut as it sounds. When I reached the awkward age of reason, I sought ideological and political explanations and formulations for what whites were doing to blacks. To be a South African is to be one for whom none of these theories is abstract; long before you or I are old enough to read politics and economics we have demonstrated in ourselves capitalist exploitation of a peasantry and proletariat, lived this in our lives, going to a free school while our black siblings caddied for our fathers on the golf course or herded their cattle on the farms; long before we have heard of the race theories of a Gobineau or a Hitler, we have been part of a demonstration of the counter-Marxist, western democratic theory that race discrimination and not class exploitation is the basis of oppression in our country.

For me, the black mineworkers were in the compound before the term "migratory labor" was stored in my mind. I heard in the mouth of a grown-up in that small town the words "white kaffir" as an ordinary term of abuse between two quarrelling whites before complex analyses of the projection of fears, before the concept of the Other who epitomizes one's own obstreperous idea came my way. Now I began to interpret. I began to understand that I was, as a white South African, in terms of social evolution, and to ask how—if—one might break out into another social role. Most important, contact with blacks as people and



equals, sometimes very close and personal contact, shaped by consciousness through their ideas about whites, about me; rounded it through their demands upon me and my dependencies upon them.

In this period of intense give-and-take between idea and flesh, between the theory and the daily reality not only of aspiring to something called justice but of aspiring to become human in the ways South African society was and is not, I was beguiled by the charm of

a "free society" within four walls so to speak. But outside that room the iron color bar remained on black backs, not mine. Like many others, I granted too much counterweight to the groups where there was no "they" and "we," only Us.

During this period—and it lasted more than a decade—I also had new relationships with whites that developed my awareness of what might be involved in being a South African. In particular there was my

—Being South African: Black—

Steven Biko, the charismatic leader of the black consciousness movement in South Africa, died in prison September 12 as the result of injuries suffered during police interrogation. Some 20,000 persons from all over South Africa journeyed to King William's Town, Cape Province, to attend his funeral on September 25. Many hundreds of others, however, were prevented by various means from joining their fellow mourners. This document, made available by Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa (ECSA), New York City, describes one method. It was written by a woman who intended to travel by bus from the Dube section of the city of Soweto. Her name must be withheld; her statement comes to ECSA from a source known to be reliable.

WHEN I LEFT HOME for Steve Biko's funeral on Friday the 23rd, little did I know that I would spend that weekend in jail. To get space in the busses booked, I decided to get to the YWCA, Dube, at 6:30 p.m. There were a few people outside the hall. Some young men told us to sit inside the hall, so as to avoid confrontation with the police, who were nowhere to be seen then.

By 8 p.m. the hall was full to capacity with mourners. No speeches were delivered, no songs were sung as we sat talking and waiting for the busses. Shortly after 8 p.m. the busses arrived, and the names of those who had reserved seats early were called. These left the hall in single file via a side door. We were all quiet in order to hear all names.

Never will I forget the nightmarish two hours after that. All hell broke loose when out of the blue there was a shattering of all the window panes, and a billowing of choking tear gas enveloped us. Waves of people surged through the small doors amid heart-rending female screams and forced groans of fallen men. I found myself crawling on the grass outside the hall, overcome by the tear gas and kept down by the stampeding mourners.

Gunfire brought me to my senses. Half blind, hampered by my traveling bag and provisions, I scaled a high fence and fell into the neighboring yard. I staggered to the door and found it locked. Continued bursts of gunfire and screams lent me wings. I flew into the next big house where I was welcomed with water. Yes, water. That was the best thing to happen to my half-blind eyes and parched throat. The sting of tear gas was immediately eased. I sat huddled in a corner with some 20 or so other women. Lights were switched

off and we all prayed that the police would never guess we were there.

That was not our lucky day, for within 10 minutes the back door was kicked open by a gun-wielding cop in the fearful camouflage uniform. He shone a torch on us and whistled. Soon the house was full of them. We were kicked and driven out of that house with *sjaboks* and batons, amid sounds of breaking glass and furniture.

The run to the police lorry was short but still the longest in my life. As we ran, blows showered over my whole body like rain in summer. Worse was to come when I clambered into the lorry. For what seemed a year, we were beaten up, really beaten up by the savage cops. About 100 of us were packed into the lorry. Worse was to come.

Walking on top of us with their heavy boots, they started individual assaults. My hair was pulled out by the roots and there was a tug-of-war for our pants. These cops were so wild they wanted to rape us in the full lorry. Blessed be the man who promoted jeans for women. That saved us. The men who dared look at the indecency were mercilessly clobbered and ordered to close their eyes. From Dube to Meadowlands a policeman was sitting squarely on my back as there was no room for him to sit. That was the longest drive I've ever experienced.

What I saw when we finally got to the charge office, I shall never forget. The way people had been beaten up! One girl was lying on the floor in a faint and the cops saw a big joke in her. Faces were bleeding, blood-covered heads and torn clothing were the order of the day. We were made to sit on the floor, and abused in all possible ways.

We were finally charged with "public violence and stone throwing" and locked up for the weekend, the longest ever. Monday was spent in the court cells. We were finally released on bail, sick, with unstitched wounds open, *sjabok* wounds and semi-paralysed arms. Was that the end? God, no!

When we met our relatives and friends outside the court, we were bound to be excited and jubilant. That was soon ended by gunfire and threats by the riot police. We all ran helter-skelter in all directions with the police in hot pursuit. They, however, made sure not to rearrest us, but we all thought we were lucky to escape the second police onslaught.

Shall I ever forget the brutality of the South African police? Never with this scar across my face!

But still: Steve Biko, rest in peace! □

close friendship with a woman who already lived in a way that seemed to be evolved in particular response to the situation. She was an Afrikaner, but there were others like her, Jewish or of English descent. She was a white prepared to take full responsibility for the past that can't be changed and the future that must be. Through her I came to understand that we whites are not European and that in order to be *anything* we must change profoundly. It was in the 1950's, long before we had been frightened by the concept of black consciousness and before the concept of white consciousness had begun to be considered as anything but white supremacy.

At the time it was still possible to work with blacks; she did just that: not *for* them. She considered proxy a crippling thing to those on whose behalf concessions were asked. She believed no one could assess black needs but blacks themselves; no one could decide for them how they could free themselves from white oppression: only they knew what it really was. She would argue political tactics passionately with blacks, but she did not expect to prevail by assumption of white-knows-best, if not out of despotism then out of an equally despotic compassion. I watched her in her daily life, as an organizer of a mixed trade union, then running a cooperative, willing and able to work under blacks in political activities on *their* terms, astonishingly free of any sense of self-sacrifice or nobility in the risks she ran, the naming and banning and periods of detention—in simple, unshakeable acceptance that if she suffered it was as much to remake the meaning of being a white South African as to remake that of being black.

Looking Forward, Looking Back

A lot of cant is talked in the context of whites like you and me suffering on full stomachs the psychic damage of over-privilege; but if we are to try to discover if there is any validity in a concept of white consciousness, we have to examine how privilege subconsciously hampers the will to change. And it still seems to me that people like my friend saw the real aspects of this and took their own hard way towards curing it.

Today men and women such as Beyers Naudé and some young people who have been student leaders show that same courage.

Jean-Paul Sartre, as an old man in his middle 70s, says his only regret in life is that he was not more radical; I think it is likely that I, too, from that safe shore, may say the same. Certainly I am aware that I have not been nearly as brave as being a South African has turned out to require, and it so happens that active radicals and bravery go together here.

How much can I blame on the tumbril of history, whose destination is unlikely to be that rendezvous where there is room for all? How much must I blame on the lingering sloth of privilege, convictions not matched by courage; the writer's fiercely-exclusive sense of his existence through his work? It is hard to be honest about these things, even with oneself.

"Only connect" was a fragile bond. Part of my continuing consciousness of being a South African has been to accept, quite long ago, without sneering at the limited but undoubted value it had, that that bond between black and white has broken, defiled by "dialogue," the zoo teaparty at which noises remarkably like human exchanges are made. That bond has been rent like gossamer by brutish removals, medieval detentions, and finally, the shooting of children.

At no time in my life has my sense of being a South African been final and definitive, and it is not, now. Being a South African is a constant state of response to demands; continuing and changing demands. I often mark how different is the social state of American or English friends. They begin to seem to me a protected species; in one way, I could define my South African-ness by the extent to which they differ from me in their secure sense of what they are. Once mature, they may have to make adaptive changes to outward circumstances, they may have to face slumps and unemployment, changes in the standard of living, even the possibility of atomic annihilation together, but they will never have to change the concept of who and what they are in relation to their country.

This is exactly what is being demanded of whites in South Africa now: to change the concept of who and what they are in relation to South Africa. After more than 300 years, blacks are demanding it of whites; whites, such as the students who have organized this series of discussions and inquiries, are demanding it of themselves. In the political parties' understanding of the nature of the demand, there are varying degrees of sincerity and realism; what we have to keep foremost in our South African consciousness, there, is that although some wild things have come out of the mouth of Mr. Andrew Young, and although the diplomatic notes of protest from the big powers as well

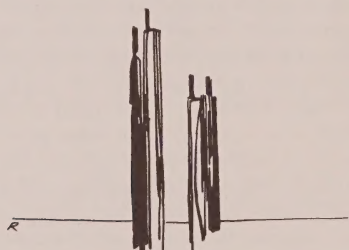
—Santa Says. . .

Don't miss the Christmas 1977 edition of C&C in which St. Hereticus (who else?), in a double-length piece of close-reasoned argumentation, sets forth *six proofs* for the existence of. . .you guessed it! . . . Santa Claus.

as those of Mr. Pik Botha fell thick upon Mr. Andrew Young's head when he said South Africa's government was illegal, only legalistic, sophistic arguments can prove him wrong. Morally, our government is illegal. When our Nuremberg comes—and the trials go on in private, inside us, already—no one will be able to deny that the “legality” of our government consists in its being legal in our country for a parliament representing only a white minority to make the laws.

The Experience of Rejection

I don't think the public platform is the place for me, but I am here because I take seriously the intention to examine the feasibility and validity of a white consciousness concept as a response to our present situation, psychological and practical. I am not prepared to dismiss white consciousness out-of-hand as merely the acceptance, black-dictated, of racialism in reverse. The rejection by young and not-so-young blacks of the white spectrum from liberal to radical is a traumatic experience, make no mistake about it, for whites. For myself, I can say that rationally I understand it and consider it necessary, but as individual experience I find it as wounding as anyone else does. It is not easy to take a new starting point. Black thought insists that, beginning again from rejection, whites



must work out a social and psychic route based on the idea that they will arrive so changed back at the point of departure that it will be possible, then, for there to be equality of acceptance. For blacks will emerge from their great pilgrimage into full selfhood; and the thread that leads out of the labyrinth of struggle will turn out to have been in the hands of both and to have brought them to a meeting-place, not some hall where the petty apartheid signs have been hastily taken down.

Is this just a ghastly mirror-version of “separate development?” I fervently hope not. I don't think so. Mongane Serote once wrote a little poem: “White people are White people, they must learn to listen; Black people are Black people, they must learn to talk.” It has happened. But we must not expect blacks to tell us what we must do, or even what they want of

us. It is frustrating that they will not, can not.

If we declare an intention to identify fully with the struggle for a single, common South African consciousness, if there is such a thing as white consciousness as a way to human justice and honest self-realization, whites will have to take their attitudes apart and assemble afresh their ideas of themselves. We shall have to accept the black premise that the entire standpoint of *being white* will have to shift, whether it is under the feet of those who loathe racialism and have opposed it all their lives, or those to whom race discrimination is holy writ.

One of the most difficult things of all to face is that black thinkers talk at the moment as if they prefer, in principle, white racialists and conservatives, those who have decreed and pursued the prosecution of blacks with pious cruelty and detached hubris, to those whites of the liberal-to-radical spectrum who have pursued the cause of black liberation, at worst, yes, out of self-interest disguised as paternalism, at best out of commitment to destroy self-interest as whites have known it, along with apartheid. There is no objective reason why the ugly sincerity of white racialists should be regarded as more “sincere” than the sincerity of whites who want to ditch racialism. But the thing is those whites failed; failure in the ranks of those who have power is not forgiven by those without power. Yet this failure of whites has become one of the most important factors in black consciousness—in the form of the realization that liberation cannot be gained on *one's behalf*, by others. Could white consciousness—once you have decided what it is and how to put it into practice—provide a means for whites to participate in the legal and economic and spiritual liberation of blacks? Will it find a way in which whites themselves may at the same time be liberated from the image of the Janus Oppressor, the two archetypal stereofaces, grinning racist or weeping liberal, of the same tyrant? Is this what consciousness is? You are making a Pascalian wager on it; and that's the only way to find out. ☐

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THE UPROOTING OF A PEOPLE

⁴⁸“WITH A HARD AND BITTER HEART”⁴⁹

PETER BROWN

THE COMMUNITY OF Charlestown, in Natal, South Africa, consists of three parts—Clavis, which was bought by the South African Mutual Life Assurance Society in 1895 and laid out as a township; Charlestown itself, which was laid out as a township under Natal Law in 1906; and Clavis Extension, which consists of 350 plots and a commonage of 900 acres. Clavis was incorporated into Charlestown in 1930 and Clavis Extension in 1932.

Charlestown was once a flourishing rail center and customs post, but in 1910 the customs post closed and the railway yards and workshops were moved three miles away to Volksrust in the Transvaal. Most of Charlestown's white residents left. Houses were abandoned, rate revenue slumped and the town board could no longer meet the payments on money it had borrowed to provide water and other essential amenities. It was desperate for new ratepayers and a Mr. Higgins, a member of the board, set out on a deliberate campaign to persuade Africans to buy houses and plots in Charlestown and settle there. He succeeded, and in 1911 the first African owner, Mr. Abraham Ngwenya, took transfer of his Charlestown plot. The first recorded transfer of land in Clavis to African ownership was in 1912. In 1931 the town board bought the 296 plots remaining unsold in Clavis and from then on rented them out as building sites, mainly to Africans. The first African purchase of land in Clavis Extension took place in 1934.

Africans who came to live in Charlestown were welcomed by the town board as ratepayers, but never as voters. Although the black ratepayers outnumbered the white ratepayers, it was the white ratepayers who elected the town board which disposed of the funds of the township. These funds, African ratepayers maintained, were spent mainly to the advantage of white ratepayers and hardly at all to the advantage of black ratepayers. In 1948 a petition was submitted to the Natal Provincial Administration by black residents of

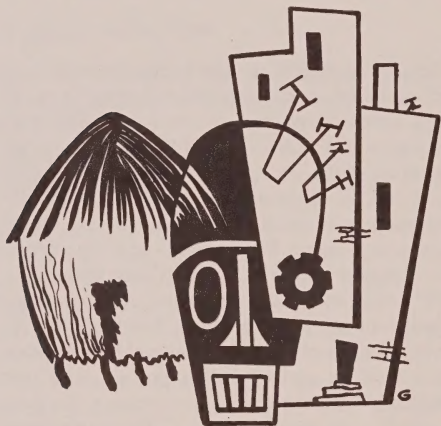
Charlestown calling for an inquiry into the white town board's conduct. A commission of inquiry was appointed which found that, by that year, the town board had provided the whole of Clavis with a single water-tap and the whole of Clavis Extension with none at all. The commission found it "obvious that the improvements in old Charlestown (largely white) have, to a large extent, been carried out at the expense of the ratepayers of Clavis and Clavis Extension," most if not all of whom were black. Amongst other things the commission recorded that "recently the town board suddenly withdrew the right for Africans to lease land for agricultural purposes. . . and then proceeded to lease the land to Europeans at the same rate and for the same purpose." The commission made certain recommendations regarding the future administration of Charlestown to which the town board paid no attention at all. Twelve years later, in despair, the Provincial Administration appointed a further commission of inquiry and in 1963 dissolved the town board and appointed the local health commission, one of its own subsidiaries, to administer Charlestown.

The Real Enemy

Unfortunately, while this second commission's recommendations held out prospects for more reasonably human treatment for the black people of Charlestown, other things were happening which pointed in quite another direction. In 1948 the Nationalist Government came to power and the Africans of Charlestown now faced a far more formidable adversary than the town board had ever been. For in Nationalist eyes, for black men to own land, however honorably acquired, paid for at whatever sacrifice, developed with whatever loving care, in what it chose to designate as "White South Africa," was offensive, and something to which an end must be put. The fact that Charlestown's black ratepayers and tenants had been the people who had kept its creditors at bay for 40 years was, in Nationalist eyes, a matter of no account. They must go!

PETER BROWN is chairman of the editorial board of *Reality*, a monthly magazine published in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa; this article is reprinted from its September issue. Alan Paton, the novelist, is vice chairman of the board.

And so in 1953 the Chief Bantu Commissioner for Natal visited Charlestown and announced that all African people who worked elsewhere would have to go and live where they worked, and that all others would be moved to a place called Buffalo Flats, 40 miles away and 18 miles from the nearest town of Newcastle. For 24 years the people of Charlestown have resisted this removal with every legal means at their disposal, but they have seen their numbers slowly reduced by a succession of Government actions against them, and their community broken and scat-



tered by the overwhelming power of an uncaring authority. Sometimes that authority hasn't even bothered about whether the powers it was trying to use against them were legal. For instance, in 1958 the Charlestown town board issued notices to Charlestown residents working in nearby Volksrust telling them to move there within 30 days. It issued them in terms of a proclamation under the Urban Areas Act. Investigations by lawyers acting for the people concerned revealed that the Act did not exist. Confronted with this fact the board withdrew the notices and issued others on the same form, slightly amended—and also invalid.

In its haste to rid itself of its black townspeople the town board in 1958 tried to use powers it did not possess. Thereafter there was a lull and the threat of removal receded for a while. In the 1960's, however, the lull ended and the full might of the state was brought to bear on Charlestown. Every black homeowner in Charlestown proper was expropriated and evicted and, with one exception as far as I can establish, their homes were destroyed. The exception was taken over by a member of the white community. In other parts of the town the Government threatened landlords (including the local health commission, which had recently taken over the administration of the area) with prosecution if they did not give their black tenants notice to quit. Notice was duly given, the demolition squads moved in, homes which had sometimes been occupied for 30 years were flattened. Their owners, their possessions and what building materials they had salvaged were loaded onto Government trucks and transported 30 miles to Duck Ponds (now Madadeni) six miles from the town of

Newcastle. At that time the accommodation offered at Duck Ponds was a single-roomed, pre-fabricated, wooden shack without a floor. The rent for this shack was nearly three times what most tenants had been accustomed to pay at Charlestown. There was at that time no school at Duck Ponds, there was no proper store and there was no work.

Since those days there has been a further lull in the removals and, for those who remained behind, the hope must have started to grow that perhaps they would be spared the terrible fate that so many of their friends had suffered. Alas, it was not to be. This year the final expropriations have taken place, the compensation has been paid and the demolition squads are busy again.

What has happened to the members of this community of poor and generally upright families who, over the years, had woven for themselves many of the threads of social organization which go to make for stability; a community which, in spite of all it had suffered at the hands of various white authorities, was still so strongly committed to a non-racial future for our country that it provided the Liberal Party in Natal with one of its largest branches at a time when that was a dangerous thing to do? The stories of some members of this community appeared many years ago in two Liberal Party booklets. Perhaps they should, where possible, now be brought up to date.

"I Would Rather Die. . ."

In the first case, the story cannot be brought up to date. It concerns Mr. Abraham Ngwenya. It was written at that time that

Mr. Abraham Ngwenya was the first African to buy land in Charlestown. He bought a plot and a house from a white owner in 1911 and he went into business as a blacksmith, doing most of his work for surrounding farmers. Shortly after the Chief Bantu Commissioner's 1953 visit Mr. Ngwenya told a Liberal Party investigator, "I am 80 years old. I am too old to do more than repairs. This move to Buffalo Flats has knocked me down, and I feel almost too old to get up again. I would rather die, soon and escape this bitter ending to a hard but happy life. Nor can I understand why the farmers and the Government wish to do this to me. I never cheated them and they never cheated me." Mr. Ngwenya's wish was granted. He died in 1959.

In 1963 Jeremiah Mdakane was already over 70 years old. He bought his plot in Charlestown in 1925 from the same Mr. Higgins who had first persuaded Africans to move there. He said, "When I received my title deed I settled down with full confidence and established my home." Having settled his family where they could, he thought, live undisturbed, he went off to Johannesburg where he worked as a waiter. He continued to work there until 1947, coming home whenever he had a weekend free or leave due. But in 1947 he was taken ill and he returned to Charlestown to retire and to live on what he could grow in his garden and on the cattle he was entitled to run on the commonage.

Until the Bantu Commissioner's visit Mr. Mdakane

looked forward to a quiet and happy ending to a hard life, spent with the family from whom he had been separated so often during his working days. He became a preacher in his church and a leader in the community. Forty years after he had paid Mr. Higgins for his title deeds the Government removed him from Charlestown, demolished his beloved home, and left the weeds to take over his garden. He took refuge in Clavis where he lives to this day in a wattle-and-daub shack, his memory gone, unconscious of the fact that each day brings the government demolishers nearer to this home, too. And what will happen to him when they do arrive?

Elias Tabethe lived a few doors away from the Mdakanes. He, too, had built himself a strong stone house, set in the large garden which provided him with much of his food. As a ratepayer he was entitled to run stock on the commonage. For years he made his living making bricks on the commonage for local builders and farmers—until one day the town board took his brickmaking license away. He was chairman of the Liberal Party's Charlestown branch for many years and represented it at Provincial and National Congresses. His home was destroyed at the same time as Mr. Mdakane's. From being master in his own house and the strong and independent head of his family, he became a lodger in a relative's rented house in the municipal location in Volksrust—a dependent.

Piet Tshabalala, too, built himself a solid home and a successful business many years ago in Charlestown. He was a coal merchant, a building contractor and a cartage contractor, and an exceptionally able person by any standards. He tells the story of how, when the word got around that he was going to be removed from Charlestown, he was approached by a contemptuous white man, who offered him 40 rands for the house it had cost him 1500 rands to build. The state paid him more than that, and then knocked it down. They also killed the coal and the contracting businesses.

Piet Tshabalala, however, is a remarkably resilient person. When his life in old Charlestown was ended, he started up a new life in Clavis and Clavis Extension. He owned a plot in each and on one he built a tea room and on the other he lived, like Mr. Mdakane, in a wattle-and-daub house. Now all that is over, too. His tea room has expropriated and his house has been demolished.

A View of Desolation

You can stand in the ruins of that house and look out on the ruins of many other homes, interspersed with some, still standing, that are about to be ruins. The people who live in them, or used to live in them, are finally being moved to Buffalo Flats, now renamed Osizweni or "the place where you will find help." But will you? Will Piet Tshabalala? It seems unlikely. To take an example, the people being moved from Charlestown are being settled in a particular section of Osizweni in which a number of trading sites have been set aside. It would be reasonable to expect these sites to be allocated to people who had come from Charlestown. But no, they have already been given to people who have nothing to do with Charlestown.

And Piet Tshabalala? He and other people who were in business in Charlestown made a special trip to Ulundi in December last year to plead their case with the Kwa-Zulu authorities asking to be allocated trading sites amongst their old customers at Osizweni. They were told to go home and a reply would follow. Seven months later they were still waiting for it. I know of another person whose original home in Charlestown was expropriated and destroyed and who had land in Clavis on which he re-established himself, hoping that some miracle might happen before the axe could fall again. No miracle happened. Instead the Government valuator came, but this time he was different from the one who had come before. In old Charlestown the valuator went to some trouble to show that he took his job seriously. He came into the house and measured the rooms and looked at the walls, and so on. The one who came to Clavis stood outside in the street and did the job from there. When invited inside to be able to make a better assessment, he said it wasn't necessary. When offers of compensation, based on such valuations, were finally received, and people protested, the officials concerned shrugged, and said words to this effect, "Well, if you don't like our valuations, get your own, and take the matter to the Arbitration Court. But, of course, you won't be able to use valuers from Volksrust (a few kilometers away) because Volksrust is in the Transvaal and Transvaal valuers are not allowed to operate in Natal. And you won't be able to use the Newcastle valuers (the next nearest town), because those work for us. But you could try Ladysmith. . . ."—so far away as to be beyond the pockets of the people of Charlestown. Probably there are valuers in Newcastle who are not contracted to the Government, but the people of Charlestown didn't know that, and, with heavy hearts, decided they had no alternative but to accept what they had been offered.

The man who told me this story pointed to a neat row of wattle-and-daub rooms on the plot next to his and said, "They will be coming to knock those down tomorrow." I asked him, "How will they do it?" and he replied bitterly, "Ngenhliziyo embi"—"With a hard and callous heart." For, he said, the demolishers would come, and trample all over people's most treasured and private places, and knock the old familiar walls down, and tear the place to pieces, laughing and joking.

But the demolishers are on the very bottom rung of the hierarchy of people who do such things as destroy Charlestown "Ngenhliziyo embi." The big names in this field work from Pretoria and from Parliament Street in Cape Town. □

Farming Reprints

Because of many requests from farm-related church groups we have ordered reprints of C&C's October 31 article, "The 'Free Market' Myth: Fatal Trap for Farmers," by Shirley E. Greene and Richard W. Priggie—a short course in agricultural economics and farmer psychology. Prices: 1–100 copies, 25c each; over 100, 15c each.

Beyers Naudé

A PROPHET WITHOUT HONOR

ROBERT MCAFEE BROWN

This article originated as the remarks accompanying the citation to Beyers Naudé, director of the Christian Institute of South Africa, on the occasion of his being honored with the Reinhold Niebuhr Award in late 1974. We did not know when we first published this article in our January 25, 1975 issue that we would have reason to reprint it, though given the respective commitments of Mr. Naudé and of the South African Government we might well have expected to do so. Robert McAfee Brown's words could hardly be more appropriate today.

IN COMMENTING ON A TEXT one usually cites the text and then offers footnotes to explain it. In what I hope will be seen as an act of enlightened perversity, I am going to reverse the procedure by offering first a brief commentary on the text of the citation honoring Dr. Naudé and only then reading the citation itself.

The Rev. C. F. Beyers Naudé is a *churchman*, a *pastor* and a *prophet*. Like most prophets he is now without much honor in his own church—let alone his own country—because he has tried, as pastor to his people, to be their prophet as well. There is ample biblical precedent for the fact that prophets are not generally well received, and Dr. Naudé is no exception. There may be awards in Chicago, but there are no awards in Capetown.

Once a moderator of the most powerful branch of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, Dr. Naudé came to believe, particularly after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, that the pro-apartheid stand of his church could no longer be justified. He said so in a memorable sermon that cost him his pulpit, his job and his place of esteem in Afrikaaner society. It is assumed in South Africa that many leaders of the English-speaking churches will oppose apartheid, and they can be "tolerated" because they are numerically too few to comprise a genuine threat. What cannot be—and is not—tolerated is the voicing of such a cry by members of the Afrikaans community, particularly when, like Beyers Naudé, they have been part of the *Broederbond*, a small exclusive organization with enormous power, standing uncompromisingly for white supremacy in all aspects of South African life.

So, for Dr. Naudé to be a churchman, pastor and prophet has also made him a *risk-taker on behalf of many*. I have had the privilege of two brief meetings with him before today. One was in the Capetown airport when I was arriving and he was leaving. He had just come from staff meetings of the Christian Institute (CI), of which he is the head, and a bomb had

gone off in the meeting hall shortly after adjournment. Only the inefficiency of the timing device had prevented a tragedy. The second meeting was at breakfast in Johannesburg in the home of a member of Naudé's staff, and the hostess placed her tea cozy over the telephone on the assumption that the special branch of the secret police would be monitoring the conversation, whether the phone was off the hook or not. Bombings and buggings are routine rather than exceptional.

How does it happen that one who had one set of loyalties is moved to adopt, at such great cost, another set of loyalties? Alan Paton, his close friend, has compared Naudé's shift—more properly "conversion"—to that of St. Paul on the road to Damascus and has ascribed it to the work of the Holy Spirit ("Church and State in South Africa," Sept. 30, 1974 issue). While he might be rendered uncomfortable at being elevated to the company of St. Paul, we can assume that Naudé is willing to attribute whatever power he has to God rather than to himself.

So we can say, in further describing him, that he is *an affirmer of the lordship of Christ and, therefore, a denier of the lordship of Caesar*. In South Africa to say



"yes" to the first is also to say "no" to the second. For South Africa is a police state. Political dissent is not tolerated. Every aspect of the society, the church not excepted, is riddled with informers. It can be assumed that someone here today will be reporting whatever Dr. Naudé says to authorities in Johannesburg or Pretoria. Those who defy are banned, bombed or bugged.

indicted and hauled into courts, fined and imprisoned.

Beyers Naudé knows many of these realities from his own past, and he knows too that they remain possibilities for the future. It is his positive affirmation of the lordship of Christ that leads to his costly denials of the lordship of Caesar. In his country one has to act without assurance that the undertaking will succeed, with the assurance only that the act must be undertaken whether it succeeds or not. One has to resist even if there is only the likelihood that resistance will not be tolerated. In this recognition—that to affirm the lordship of Christ means to deny the lordship of Caesar—we have a telling instance of the staying power of the Gospel that Reinhold Niebuhr himself preached and embodied.

Another way to put this, in a favorite polarity from Niebuhr's life and thought, is that Dr. Naudé as a *believer in God's love is, therefore, a practitioner of human justice*. How do we embody love in a loveless world? By engaging in the struggle for justice, but by doing so in a manner that continues to be infused by love. Nothing is more taxing today than to attack the wrongness of the viewpoint of an opponent and still retain a sense of his/her humanness.

Can we spell this out more concretely? I believe we can by describing Dr. Naudé as a *provider of space for total sharing and, therefore, a troubler of the status quo*. That seems to me to be a shorthand way of describing the reality of the Christian Institute of which he is the founder and head. In a land that insists on enforced segregation of the races, the CI has defiantly embodied a space for total sharing. Its staff and membership include blacks, Coloureds, Asians and whites—to employ the artificial terminology that is legally binding in defining who a South African is. The CI provides a space where these categories lose their meaning, even as a desperate government keeps building ever higher walls of division between classes, races and churches.

In Obedience to the Gospel

Troubler of the status quo, indeed. In addition to meetings, institutes, publications and other measures designed to sensitize the consciences of South Africans and, thus, transform the fierce laws of the land, the CI recently completed a project known by the acronym SPROCAS (Study Project for Christianity in an Apartheid Society). The materials growing out of SPROCAS have occasioned the very particular wrath of the Government, and since 1972 CI has been under investigation by the Schlebusch Commission.

The hearings have been secret, the accused have not had the right to confront their accusers, and other familiar star-chamber procedures have been followed. Because of this Beyers Naudé and a number of his associates have refused to testify before the commission.

Their rationale is set forth in a document entitled "Divine or Civil Obedience" in which the signatories declare that the Government is in clear deviation from the biblical understanding of government. And so they conclude: "Where such deviation from the Gospel occurs, it is therefore not only the right of the Christian to resist authority, but his duty to offer

passive resistance in obedience to the Gospel, even if in so doing he has to disobey the government." One of the great documents of modern times is the Barmen Declaration of 1934, in which the German Confessing Church took its uncompromising stand against Hitler. I predict that the document from which I have just quoted will take its place alongside Barmen as one of the great Christian utterances of our time.

The South African Government is not similarly impressed. It continues to move implacably against Beyers Naudé and the handful of courageous souls who have stood with him. Indictments, court appearances, sentences, reviews, lifting of passports, banings, new charges—the whole apparatus of the state is being used to crush the Christian Institute and those who are part of it. At the moment there is a breathing space—enough for Dr. Naudé's brief visit to us—but more battles lie ahead. In one sense they are only beginning, for the Government is coming to realize that those who comprise the CI are not going to evaporate, compromise or crumble under pressure.

This is a lesson for South Africans, but it is a lesson for us who are in less perilous situations as well. And so we can say finally of Dr. Naudé that he is the *exemplar of a courage that challenges others to risk more because he continually risks all*. It will not be enough at the end of this day to pat ourselves on the back for having honored a great Christian leader. We must be reminded by Beyers Naudé's presence that South African tensions are a microcosm of world tensions. What is true there in blatant form is true elsewhere in more subtle (and not so subtle) forms.

If in South Africa a tiny white minority has oppressive control over the destinies of a massive nonwhite majority, this is the way it is on the global scene as well. If nonwhite South Africans are not going to accept this unjust state of affairs indefinitely, neither are nonwhite members of the entire global family going to do so. The South African drama is a prelude to an increasingly rapidly unfolding global drama in which the same basic issues emerge. There are not many places from which we can take cues as to what our own proper posture should be, as the global pressures begin to be exerted against us—the tiny white minority with so much oppressive power over the vast nonwhite majority. And so, grateful for Beyers Naudé's courage, we can only hope and pray, not only for the vigorous continuation of his witness, but for the possibility that a bit of his courage may rub off on us.

Dr. Naudé, I ask you to rise and receive the citation that I shall now read, minus the footnotes and commentary:

The Reinhold Niebuhr Award for 1974 to

*The Rev. C. F. Beyers Naudé:
churchman, pastor, prophet and therefore,
risk-taker on behalf of others;
affirmer of the lordship of Christ and, therefore,
denier of the lordship of Caesar;
believer in God's love and, therefore, practitioner
of human justice;
provider of space for total sharing and
therefore, troubler of the status quo;
exemplar of a courage that challenges others to
risk more because he continually risks all.* □

SUICIDE: a responsible act?

separate paths

why people end their lives

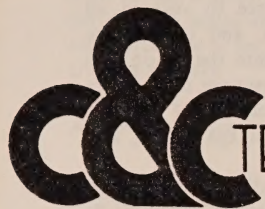
**Linnea Pearson with
Ruth Bryant Purtilo**

Is suicide ever a rational, human option? *Separate Paths* asks the hard questions and does not flinch from their answers. It discusses the deaths of Hemingway, Marilyn Monroe, and others, and finds in them a meaning our time has found too disturbing to face—until now. “Lively, often lyrical, it explores the paradox that the courage to begin again often springs from the dark knowledge that we have the power to destroy our own lives.”—*Sam Keen*. “Anyone who has ever had a friend or family member who has taken this other path, or who has thought of it for himself or herself, cannot help but be drawn deep into this unfolding conversation.”—*Harvey Cox*.



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DANNY BLACKWELL
Stevens employee

ON MARCH 1, 1977, 3,000 representatives of church, civil rights and union organizations demonstrated in front of the J.P. Stevens Tower in New York City. Chants of "Boycott Stevens" filled the air. Inside, at the annual stockholders' meeting of J.P. Stevens and Co., Inc., Coretta Scott King spoke in support of resolutions presented to management by the United Methodist Board of Global Ministries (World Division), the Maryknoll Fathers and three other Catholic bodies. The resolutions called for public disclosure of company policy and practice regarding equal employment opportunity and labor policy.

Nearby, Timothy Smith, director of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, chaired a press conference at which Charles Morgan Jr. of Southerners for Economic Justice and Paul O'Dwyer, President of the New York City Council, among others, spoke in favor of the stockholders' resolutions. Also announced was support for a worldwide boycott of Stevens' products by the United Church Board for

PAUL H. SHERRY and ROBERT T. STROMMEN have been involved as observers and participants in issues of justice concerning American workers for many years. They are executives with the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, which recently voted to support the boycott of J.P. Stevens products.

Homeland Ministries, the Ad Hoc Group of 14 Southern Ministers and the Missouri Council of Churches.

For Addie Jackson, a former employee of Stevens' now-closed Statesboro, Ga. plant and an early leader in the struggle to organize Stevens' workers, March 1 was a day to remember. The national support she had sought for so many years finally was gathering momentum. Eventual victory no longer seemed an improbable dream but a real, though still distant, possibility.

As important as March 1 was, however, it was but one more significant event in the 14-year struggle of textile workers to organize J.P. Stevens' 80 plants throughout the South. It was also the latest in a more recent chain of events that began in August 1974 when a majority of workers in the seven plants in Roanoke Rapids, N.C., voted to be represented by the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA). The vote was close—1,685 to 1,488—and it was the first clear-cut win since the beginning of the 1963 organizing drive. Labor leaders declared it a decisive step toward the organization of the entire South's textile industry.

But there has been little further forward movement since then. Negotiations between the TWUA and J.P. Stevens have been deadlocked. The union contends that the company is not negotiating in good faith, and the Regional Director of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) has filed a complaint to that effect. A fundamental issue in the negotiations is voluntary dues check-off. It is standard practice in unionized industries for the company to withhold union dues from union members. Stevens appears unwilling to do this; the union feels it cannot survive without it.

A second point of contention is a binding arbitration agreement to deal with grievances, a feature long included in the vast majority of industrial union contracts. This would mean that a third party would have the power to rule on worker grievances that could not be settled otherwise. Without this feature, the union believes, there is a chaotic work environment, and a strike becomes the only method of solving unsettled disputes. Further, the union regards binding arbitration as essential if workers are to have any rights

in relation to the company. Stevens, on the other hand, sees binding arbitration as an illegitimate intrusion into the rights and responsibilities of management. Other issues are also in dispute.

Why Is a Boycott Necessary?

In June 1976, the TWUA merged with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to form the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). The new union announced a worldwide consumer boycott of J.P. Stevens' products. It hopes to use the boycott not only to force the company to negotiate in good faith at Roanoke Rapids but also to allow free elections followed by good faith negotiating in all Stevens' plants. In addition to the boycott, litigation through the courts is continuing. The union has decided not to use the strike as one of its weapons because it is convinced that Stevens would simply close the affected plants—as it did several years earlier in Statesboro—and shift the work to one or more of its many others.

J.P. Stevens' policy through the years has been to avoid public discussion of the issues raised by the union. However, in response to the boycott announcement the company released a statement which argued that the boycott will jeopardize the jobs of thousands of workers. In a letter to all employees James D. Finley, Chairman of the Board, wrote: "Whenever these merged unions come around in the future and try to persuade you as Stevens' employees that they are working for you and your welfare, you should always remember that through this nationwide boycott they are deliberately, ruthlessly and without mercy trying to destroy your jobs and your livelihood." The union, of course, denies this charge and compares its position to that espoused by Martin Luther King at the height of the Montgomery Bus Protest in 1956: "Our struggle is not towards putting the bus company out of business, but towards putting justice in business."

The company continues to contend that its employees do not want to be organized and points to the fact that after long years of efforts by the TWUA, and after 14 separate elections under the supervision of the NLRB, the union has won but one election. Further, the employees who did vote to be represented by the union constitute only about seven percent of the company-wide work force of 44,000 persons. Stevens concludes that the overwhelming majority of their employees do not want to be unionized.

The union responds by stating that 93 percent of the

workers have never had a chance to vote in an atmosphere free of intimidation, and that in the election at Roanoke Rapids, where the union was given access to the plants for the first time, the workers voted for the union. Also, a number of the lost elections have been overturned in the courts, and others are still in litigation.

Currently, there is an organization of anti-union workers in Roanoke Rapids, the so-called "J.P. Stevens Employee Education Committee." This group is gathering names of workers who do not want to be represented by the ACTWU. Its lawyer, Robert Valois, is a member of a Raleigh firm well known regionally as a management representative. For this and other reasons the union suspects that the committee was formed at Stevens' urging, though the company denies any involvement.

Some people have asked why a boycott is necessary. Why don't the workers make use of the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) to protect their interests? The answer is that the workers have used and continue to use the NLRA, but in and of itself it is insufficient. In fact, the Stevens controversy makes clear the law's ineffectiveness in dealing with a powerful corporate design intended to frustrate its purpose. The national policy to provide workers with the right of collective bargaining was authorized because of the injustice of pitting unorganized individuals against the institutionalized power of corporate employers. The NLRA is designed to provide a means to determine whether the workers in a given company wish to exercise their right to collective bargaining.

However, the NLRB has not been able to ensure that the parties involved in a labor dispute follow the rules. The only remedy is a costly and time-consuming process that works to the disadvantage of low-skilled and poorly paid mill hands. A company that is willing to disobey the rules of fair play has little to fear except an extended lawsuit and minor costs for back pay and damages if it loses, costs that it can charge to business expenses. Workers, of course, do not have these resources. The weakness of the NLRA, and the willingness of J.P. Stevens to exploit its weakness, has led the ACTWU to conclude that a boycott is necessary.

The boycott will succeed, however, only if it is able to generate broad support, not only within the labor community but also in religious and civil rights organizations. The significance of March 1, 1977 is that it indicates this support is building. And as an increasing number of persons and organizations become aware of the issues at hand, it will accelerate. Support is warranted because the root issues are those that enhance human dignity—the right to work at a decent wage and under decent working conditions; the

right to join a union without fear of harassment; and the right to equal employment opportunity without regard for race or sex. In each instance Stevens' record is unsatisfactory.

A Look at Stevens' Record

J.P. Stevens is the second largest textile manufacturer in the United States. (Burlington is the largest.) In 1976 it had sales of \$1.4 billion and a net income of more than \$40 million. Numerous people have contended for a number of years that it is one of the most irresponsible of America's corporations. For example, Boyd Leedom, Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board during the Eisenhower Presidency, once described Stevens as "so out of touch with a humane, civilized approach to industrial relations that it should shock even those least sensitive to honor, justice and decent treatment." In July 1976 the NLRB's Regional Director, summing up 13 years of board cases, said: "Since on or about June 1963, and at all times thereafter, [J.P. Stevens] has engaged in a massive, multistate campaign to deny its employees their rights under the Act to seek collective bargaining representatives of their own choosing [and in addition] has committed unfair labor practices of unprecedented flagrancy and magnitude"

Products to Boycott

One obstacle to an effective boycott of J.P. Stevens' products is that there are so many of them. A giant corporation, Stevens and its associated firms sell dozens of products under dozens of names—everything from telephone directories through aircraft to carpets, sheets, hosiery and draperies. But the same problem has been confronted in previous such actions.

Following is a list of some Stevens' brand names likely to be encountered at the retail level:

Fabrics: Stevens Fabrics; Hockanum, Boldeena, Wash Ease, Wool Press, Worumbo, Forstmann and Andover woollens and worsteds; Appleton flannels and corduroys; Twist Twill, Academy and Lady Twist Twill cotton work fabrics; Weftamatic, 20 Below, Gesture, Coachman, Lady Consort, Carousel, Stevetex, Windsheer and Whisper Knit Synthetics and blends.

Sheets, blankets, toweling, table cloths: Utica, Fine Arts, Beauti-Blend, Mohawk, Utica/-Mohawk, Beauticale, Tastemaker, Simtex.

Carpets: Gulistan, Tastemaker, Contender and Merryweather.

Women's hosiery: Spirit, Hip-lets, Finesse and Big Mama.

Miscellaneous: J.P. Stevens draperies; Always in Step women's slippers; Kyron interfacing for apparel.

Item: Workers who attempt to band together are fired, harassed, written up and intimidated by supervisors. In 1963 Al Sanders, who had worked at the Dunean mill for 15 years, signed a union card. Soon thereafter he was told his work "was insufficient," and he was fired. Jess and Donald Cudd, father and son, joined the union in Whitmore, S.C. Donald joined in the summer of 1963 and was fired that October. His father was urged by his boss to encourage his son to leave town. The boss also urged Jess to adopt Donald's children and go on welfare. Jess refused and later was fired. Maurine Hedgepath testified before the NLRB in 1964, after which she went on a maternity leave. When she returned to work in January 1965, she was told she no longer had a job. Her husband was soon discharged from employment after 25 years as a loom fixer. Four years of legal action were required to have Mrs. Hedgepath reinstated with back pay.

These are simply representative examples. In all, the NLRB has found J.P. Stevens guilty of violating the NLRA 15 times, involving numerous workers—more times than any other company in American history. Company appeals were rejected eight times by Federal appeals courts and three times by the US Supreme Court.

Item: When workers have banded together successfully, Stevens has either closed the plant involved or bargained in bad faith. In Statesboro the company's response to an organizing drive and certification election was so flagrantly illegal that in 1969 the NLRB certified the Textile Workers Union as the bargaining agent. In 1971 the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that Stevens was required to bargain with the union. The company did sit down but still refused to bargain in good faith. The NLRB entered the courts again to seek a contempt citation forcing the company to bargain in good faith. Finally, in 1975—shortly before the 5th Circuit Court's preliminary report found the company guilty of bargaining in bad faith and recommended a court order requiring genuine bargaining—Stevens closed the plant. And in spite of NLRB charges it has remained closed.

Item: Workers who favor organizing are subject to out-of-plant surveillance. In Wallace, S.C., union organizers discovered that their phones were being tapped and traced the taps to J.P. Stevens' officials. The Textile Workers and the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department filed a civil suit against Stevens for damages stemming from the wire-tapping. In 1973 the company paid the union \$50,000 to settle the suit. A jury's verdict convicting two Stevens' officials was overturned by the trial judge on a legal technicality.

This February Father John Barry, an ACTWU organizer in Hamlet, N.C., reported that he had been

under surveillance as he visited workers from nine area Stevens' plants. Father Barry stated, "They come up with surprising information. I don't know how they got it—maybe their guardian angels tell them. I haven't seen any cars tailing me, but my license plate number and background as a priest were written up in the local Chamber of Commerce newsletter."

Item: Wages of workers in J.P. Stevens' plants are significantly below national averages. In mid-1975 their hourly wage was \$3.20 compared to \$4.62 for factory workers throughout the US. Even though Stevens' officers can expect to retire at age 65 with pensions as high as \$75,000 per year, workers' pensions are limited to \$2 per month for each year of past service (up to 10 years) plus \$4 per month for each year starting in 1976. Thus, a worker retiring in 1976 with 30 years' service would receive only \$20 per month pension.

A Just Social Cause

More generally, in North Carolina, where Stevens plants are concentrated, the average hourly manufacturing wage is the lowest in the nation. North Carolina is also the least unionized state. A June 1975 report by a group of researchers at the University of North Carolina (UNC) strongly suggests that the low level of unionization is a major reason for this earnings gap. (See "Earnings Gap in North Carolina" by Emil Malizia et al., which can be ordered by writing Mr. Malizia at UNC, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.)

Item: Women and blacks suffer from discrimination in employment practices. Statistically, blacks are 22 percent of the company work force but hold only 3 percent of the white collar jobs. Only 3 percent of "blue-collar" white women at Stevens—as against 31 percent of white "blue-collar" men—are in skilled craft jobs. In December 1975 US District Court Judge F.T. Dupree Jr. of Charlotte, N.C. ruled that the company management in Roanoke Rapids had engaged at various times since 1969 in a series of discriminatory employment practices including hiring on the basis of race, discrimination against blacks in layoffs and recalls, discrimination against black males in job assignments, and reserving clerical jobs for white employees exclusively. At present Stevens is the subject of a broad "pattern and practice" investigation by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Item: A number of J.P. Stevens' plants have been cited as environmentally unsafe for workers. The 1970 Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA) is supposed to protect workers from hazards such as brown lung—a respiratory disease caused by breathing cotton dust. The maximum exposure level allowed

under the OSHA for cotton dust in a textile mill is one milligram per cubic meter of air, a standard branded as much too high by the Textile Workers. Yet, despite the Stevens claims to have spent over \$4.2 million complying with the OSHA in 1974, cotton dust levels at Stevens' plants have been recorded at as high as 2.96 milligrams per cubic meter of air—almost three times higher than the allowed maximum. In addition inspectors have recorded noise levels in Stevens' plants as high as 110 decibels, while many other employers are trying to reduce noise levels to below 85 decibels.

James D. Finley, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of J.P. Stevens, has stated, "The forcing of unions on working people cannot be made into a proper social cause." If that were the issue, Mr. Finley would be right. But it is not. Rather, the issue is the unwillingness of J.P. Stevens to provide a climate in which working people are treated decently and are free to choose whom they want to represent their interests.

This issue *can* be made into a social cause, as has been demonstrated by the Cesar Chavez-led boycott against California lettuce and grape growers and by the boycott against the products of the Farah Co. on behalf of Mexican American workers. Further, a significant segment of the American people will support a just cause—and the boycott against J.P. Stevens is a just cause. Addie Jackson and Thomas Malone and Maurine Hedgepath and Danny Blackwell and thousands like them ultimately will prevail. □

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The Trivialization of Women



The Churches Ponder Evermore The Trivialization of Women

Carter Heyward and Suzanne R. Hiatt

*We diminish her power to reduce her importance.
For we should like, with a shrug of the shoulder, to
dispense with her, should she prove difficult.*

Wolfgang Lederer, *The Fear of Women*

LATE THIS SUMMER, near the date of the fourth anniversary of the ordination of 11 women to the priesthood of the Episcopal Church, Anglican bishops from around the world will meet in England for the Lambeth Conference, a gathering of bishops called by the Archbishop of Canterbury every ten years. Among the questions they will debate will be the possibility of the ordination of women to the priesthood.

The Anglican Consultative Council, a representative group of Anglican laity, clergy and bishops that meets every two years between Lambeth Conferences, has twice voted that national churches of the Anglican communion wishing to ordain women may do so. Four national churches have ordained women to the priesthood; at least two others have voted to do so and are working out the details.

In spite of these developments the bishops will once more debate the "theological arguments" for and against the ordination of women. None of the more than 200 women priests or the people they serve will be present for the debate. None of the clergywomen has been asked to write a position paper for the conference or to be present as a consultant. Nor will the bishops have an opportunity to experience women acting as priests, since women from other Anglican churches are forbidden to exercise their priestly ministries in England.

Having refused to consider the practice of women's ministry, what will the bishops say about it in theory? The signs are not good. The Secretary General of the Anglican Consultative Council, an English bishop, recently wrote the Council chairman (sic), an American laywoman, as follows:

Earlier I thought that the indications were that any resolution would be generally in favour. But at present I think the climate is changing, and—I had better say this—for one reason: the American treatment of the issue. People are thinking: "We

don't want that sort of confrontation here; whatever the rights and wrongs it is best to leave it for a time."

He goes on to say "... also many bishops, especially from the third world, have other things which to them are more important."

The bishop's pointing to the third world bishops is deft—but the view that women's rights and ministries are trivial concerns, not worth agitating for, is widely shared in the Anglican communion. Though more than 50 American Episcopal bishops have ordained women to the priesthood, only a few can be expected to defend their actions at Lambeth. A few others among the 50 are actually opposed to women in priesthood but felt it expedient to go ahead in the particular case at hand. Last fall the US bishops, meeting in Florida, voted overwhelmingly for a "conscience clause" which said in effect that no member of the Episcopal Church should be penalized in any way for his or her continued refusal to recognize or accept women priests. The clause was intended to let bishops and diocesan standing committees know that they are free to refuse ordination to women on grounds of sexual discrimination alone. The same meeting of the bishops assured Presiding Bishop John Allin that his refusal to accept the ministry of women priests was no bar to his continued functioning as chief officer of the Episcopal Church.

Though one Protestant clergyman has observed that the Episcopal Church has raised prejudice to the level of conscience, the action of the bishops in Florida is better described as the reverse—lowering conscience to the level of prejudice. It springs from a deeply held, though seldom articulated, view of liberals and conservatives alike—that matters concerning women are really not very important, certainly not worth breaking up the old gang over. The "rights and wrongs" involved in such questions as the ordination of women always take a back seat to "more important things," such as world hunger, disarmament or war. Interestingly enough, such questions as the ordination of women—something the church could do something about—are set aside most often to debate matters the church is at present unable to affect seriously one way or another.

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Nevertheless, while the bishops look the other way, women are being ordained Anglican priests in Canada, New Zealand, Hong Kong and the US. The Episcopal Church, USA, now has about 125 women priests and another 160 women deacons, most of whom expect to be ordained priests eventually. In spite of the "conscience clause," which makes clergywomen unwelcome in many dioceses, women priests are resident in 45 of the 93 domestic dioceses and women deacons are resident in 30 more, leaving only 18 dioceses reporting no clergywomen.

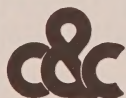
Uneasy Victory

Ecclesiastical standing for women is hardly assured, however, for with a change of bishops or a shift in the members of the appropriate clergy-lay standing committee, a diocese that once welcomed women priests can suddenly "change its conscience" to prohibit their ordination. Exactly that phenomenon occurred recently in Chicago, where a women deacon was refused priestly ordination when three members of the six-person standing committee voted no or abstained because they could not "in conscience" approve a woman for priesthood. (Canon law states that a majority of *all* members of a standing committee must

approve an application for ordination.) The diocese had previously ordained two women priests, but it was after their ordinations that two dissenters were elected to the standing committee and the "conscience clause" was devised. The Diocese of Chicago has thus reversed its previous position without even changing bishops.

What does it matter to the church as a whole, or the rest of the world, that a deacon in Chicago is refused ordination to the priesthood because she is a woman? Are not women clergy self-absorbed and petty to care? Are not churchwomen preoccupied with issues of minimal importance to the people of God within and without the church?

Within the church women are called upon not only to defend the substance of such issues as the ordination of women, but moreover to legitimate the extent to which women's issues become a focus of our ministries. Within the church we are asked to explain why efforts to bring about the ordination of a woman in Chicago should demand from church leaders the same serious attention as the church's attempt to engage in responsible urban ministry. Outside the church we are seldom asked to defend the justice of women's ordination, but we are asked why such a "ridiculous" issue is taking up so much time and



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energy. We are asked why we waste our efforts on the church anyway, since it has shown itself to be institutionally catatonic in the face of social change.

In this response we speak for ourselves but certainly for many others: We do not subscribe to a doctrine of moral removal of the church from the world. We see the church to be a social institution very much within the world, though with a particularly clear mandate to do what is loving and just. We do not intend to defend or impugn the church's role in social change. We are not attempting to make a case for the church's guilt, or to plead its innocence, on the question of its implementation of its own ancient and peculiar charge to feed the hungry, clothe the naked and liberate the oppressed.

Rather, we are attempting to point out a phenomenon present both within and beyond the institutional church, *the trivialization of women*. Both within and without the church the question is raised repeatedly: However just a cause women's rights may be, does not the women's issue pale in significance and urgency when compared with the "larger" issues of war, hunger, disarmament, racial and class justice? From right and left, from white and black, from the mouths of fundamentalist orange-juice pushers and the pens of leading liberals theologians, from Michael Novak and Billy Graham, from Lambeth and from Rome, from the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church and from the White House, different voices echo the same complaint: The women's movement makes much ado about very little.

Evading the Challenge

Western culture has long assumed that women are to be valued not as persons with individual interests, skills, possibilities and inalienable rights, but rather as persons who play a supportive role to men and to the structures they have built and maintain with that support. It follows that women are persons whose rights are implicitly bound up in the rights explicitly granted to their husbands and fathers, the "natural" heads of families and institutions.

The trivialization of women means that women are not taken seriously as people who can think, shape public policy, debate reasonably with men about those matters that men deem significant; yet women are taken with utmost seriousness as a "myth," a stereotype, a theory. Hence Anglican bishops can seriously debate women's ordination "in theory," but they can do so only in the absence of women. Their "serious" deliberations would be trivialized—lessened in importance—by the participation of women in the debate.

The women's movement challenges the fatherhood

of God, the headship of husband and the phallic symbolism of priesthood. Therefore the women's movement must be denigrated as less important than other movements or as unimportant altogether. Otherwise, those who make light of serious women would be compelled, as much from within themselves as from without, to consider seriously the possibility of recreating the social and ecclesiastical order on the basis of new vision and new values. Churchmen continue to show themselves unwilling to do that.

In terms of psychology, the trivialization of women means that women as well as men learn early in life that women have no natural—inalienable, unconditional—right to shape our lives or to help shape church and society. We are seen as persons whose identities are determined by that which is extended to us by fathers, husbands and even children. Women's most pernicious foe is our own inclination to see ourselves as unimportant, to believe that we have no right to make demands of anyone on behalf of women. We are reluctant even to feel a dissatisfaction with others' definitions of our proper sphere of life.

In the seminary where we teach, we often see women students who bring with them to seminary a sense of guilt. They express an enigmatic feeling of "having done something wrong" in considering the ordained ministry. In many cases these uneasy feelings are reinforced by bishops, husbands or parents who suggest that a desire to be ordained is "strange" in a woman—even irresponsible toward husbands and children.

The trivialization of women is the psychological tool by which men have sculpted models of "normalcy" on the basis of gender. The masculine model is the rational, orderly head and leader; the feminine model the emotional, chaotic submissive heart, which follows and supports. Women priests and ministers have been chastised by their institutional superiors for displaying "unfeminine" behavior in being too aggressive. Women have noted with humor that this is a quality highly valued in male ministers.

Culturally the trivialization of women means that women's role is not only a supportive one but also a private one. The male is the public figure; the female, and all she represents, must remain private, able to move beyond the home only with her husband's consent. Although the public sector is functionally dependent on the private, the public sector remains the arena of significant affairs. It is in public that laws are made, contracts negotiated, treaties signed, doctrines hammered out, and in private that men's emotional and physical needs—for sex, comfort, support—are met. It is in private that children who bear men's names are raised discreetly by women who are finally accountable to no one—and allowed to be

significantly employed or noticed by no one—except their husbands (or if unmarried, their fathers). The same cultural pattern is extended beyond the nuclear family in order to accommodate professional women to the expectations of their male superiors in business.

In church, which perceives itself as a family (reflecting divine order, the bishop is considered “father in God”), this pattern is evident. As nuns, religious educators, deaconesses and laity, women have long provided quiet, private support for bishops, priests and other male ministers whose significant business has been in the visible, administrative, liturgical public arena of church life. In order to be acceptable even to some liberal churchmen who cast votes for women’s ordination, women priests are expected to submit graciously, as good daughters, to the guidance of bishops, male priests and laymen.

We are directed into those ministries deemed appropriate to our gender: Christian education, pastoral counseling, some liturgical work and preaching, but certainly not social action or political advocacy, especially on issues relating to women or sexuality. Such advocacy is seen to be unseemly, lacking in taste, especially for Episcopalians and most especially for women. We must not raise our voices or make demands on behalf of anyone—but most especially not on behalf of women.

At a recent meeting, the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church refused to hear the plea for back pay for two Hispanic women employees of the church jailed for refusing to testify before a grand jury, scheduled the church’s 1982 general convention for a state where the ERA has not been ratified, and refused for the third time to join the National Coalition for Abortion Rights. Though the Episcopal Church is on record as favoring abortion, action is apparently another matter. It is apparently unseemly to act on these convictions.

Debunking “Feminine” Values

Critical to the maintenance of established psychological, cultural and religious values is the trivialization not just of women but of all that we have come to represent. By extension of their peculiar relevance to women, emotions, housekeeping, children and sexuality itself have also fallen victim to the “less important,” “private matter” label.

In the present struggle in the Episcopal Church over the ordination of both women and homosexuals many people are realizing that the two issues are closely linked. People who perceive that the women’s movement is *not* essentially a drive for “equal pay” or that the women’s ordination effort is not essentially a bid for “upward mobility” in the clerical structures of

If the Presbyterian Church, US (PCUS) and the United Presbyterian Church, USA (UPCUSA) succeed in effecting a merger, will the united church permit discrimination against women and racial minorities?

The answer is not yet clear; negotiations, we are told, are continuing. At present the Constitution of the United Presbyterian Church explicitly proscribes discrimination on the basis of sex or race in the consideration of a candidate for ordination. No such ban appears in the third study draft of *The Plan for Reunion* of the PCUS and the UPCUSA (New York: Office of the General Assembly, 1978).

The Plan does provide for continuity in ordained status for deacons and elders when and if reunion is effected, and calls for fair representation of women “in the membership of governing bodies.” Despite the attention given to the question of women’s ordination, however, the Plan is silent on the issue.

the church are often the same people who understand that the women’s movement and the gay movement are the same struggle for sexual justice. Together, women and gay people move us toward the affirmation of sexuality as a basic human yearning for deep relationships between persons who experience themselves as equals rather than as dominant and subordinate.

The trivialization of women means that sexuality—experienced as an emotional, chaotic and therefore “feminine” impulse—is a private matter (not to be discussed in public) and an indispensable part of the primary economic and cultural unit of the society: the nuclear family with a man at its head. Any departure from this standard of normalcy must fall under the medical rubric of “illness,” the political rubric of “subversion” or, if all else fails, the theological rubric of “sin.” Such has been the case with open homosexuals as well as “arrogant,” “aggressive” women.

Currently the tendency to trivialize women and all that women represent is increasing. Lambeth is initiating a new debate on the ordination of women. Rome refuses to admit that the debate exists. The US is retreating from the possibility of Constitutional equality for women in the form of the ERA. The Supreme Court has ruled that states may legislate regulation of private sexual acts between consenting adults. The United Presbyterian Church, USA, has recently “guided” member presbyteries not to ordain “self-affirming, practicing” homosexuals while simultaneously making a necessarily lame plea for the civil rights of homosexuals *outside* the church.

Anita Bryant, Jesse Helms, Phyllis Schlafly, Ronald

Reagan, the Ku Klux Klan and other right-wing organizations continue to gather money and momentum in their quasi-religious campaigns against the rights of women and homosexuals. Meanwhile, they camouflage, with varying degrees of success, their animosity toward other dispossessed groups in American society—among them the poor, farm workers, Jews, blacks and native Americans.

The political right is gaining strength in its attack on human rights precisely because the male left, within and without the church, has made it clear that women and sexuality are not issues worth fighting very hard about. The left has given the right a go-ahead in the harassment of women and homosexuals by not taking these matters seriously as matters worthy of action beyond statements about civil rights for all. Liberal churchmen and politicians still have not learned that human rights are human rights, within and beyond the church. As women and homosexuals are denied full equality under law, so, too, will disappear the civil and ecclesiastical rights of other powerless people. Perhaps, sooner or later, the list will include the rights of straight, white, liberal Christian men. □

Just What Do Women Want?

What women do they must do twice as well as men to be thought half as good. Luckily, this is not difficult.

SO READS A WOMEN'S MOVEMENT POSTER. I dunno, poster: sometimes it's very difficult.

Take the little situation we had at the Associated Church Press convention in St. Louis recently. Among issues debated by some 80 editors of Protestant church publications was whether the ACP should meet jointly with the Catholic Press Association in Florida next year.

Some of the ACP membership had pointed out that Florida was a state which had not supported the Equal Rights Amendment for women, and asked that the site be changed; the CPA had determined to go on with the meeting anyway—with or without the ACP.

So it was that I found myself at an open hearing to discuss the matter. The board of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company (ECPC) which publishes *The Witness*, had taken a position supporting the ERA and of nonparticipation in conventions in states which have not yet ratified the amendment. Kay Atwater, promotion manager, and I had expressed that on the floor.

But to many ACP editors, the issue was fuzzier: Some were for women but against boycotts; others asked if the ACP could take a position on a "political" issue. One said that the ERA "was not a priority" with him; another opened his intervention with "It's hard for me to say this without sounding like 'some of my best friends are women,' but. . ."

As I listened to the rhetoric, it sounded much like what I'd heard during the civil rights struggle in my native Louisiana (an anti-ERA state) and during the Viet Nam War. Why was I plunging into deep despair? The atmosphere seemed loaded with the unasked question, "Just what do these women want?"

Milt Ryder, editor of *The American Baptist*, offered one of the lonely male voices of solidarity with the ERA, saying that the women in his shop had voiced their pain and opposition to going to Florida. I tried to dig out of myself why I was hurting so much.

I recalled how, in 1977, when I attended the combined meeting of the CPA and ACP, it was such a great thrill to look around at the plenary sessions and see so many women. When I first started attending CPA meetings in the fifties, we were a handful at most. We had come a long way. But I thought of the scars some of us were carrying.

When I went to college, very few degree programs at my Catholic university were open to women—the most popular being education and medical technology. So I had to major in education and keep electing journalism whenever I had an option, to accumulate as many hours as though I had majored in journalism. Of course, none of the universities in Louisiana at that time were integrated.

'Boys' Are More Equal

Prior to that, there had been a citywide Spanish language contest in New Orleans for high school students. By some miracle I had won that contest, and the first prize was a full, tuition-paid scholarship to the Catholic university I later attended. *That* was first prize if the winner was a "boy." But if the winner turned out to be a "girl," the first prize was \$40.

I remembered going with my father to plead my case. We were from a working-class family. I was the oldest of five and I'd be working my way through college, at best.

I remember the two of us entering the "uptown" university, my father greeting the dean, hat in hand, apologizing for my sex, asking if the rules couldn't be bent. The good Jesuit father said they couldn't.

Over the years, I thought of the subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, ways my sisters had been sifted from the ranks of editorships. Somewhere along the way some one had told me, "No wonder you switched

from Catholic to Protestant journalism!"

But no sooner had I arrived to be introduced to the Board of Directors of the ECPC as new managing editor of *The Witness* than it was discovered that we would have to bend the rules. A 50-year-old by-law required that the managing editor had to be a priest.

In the "old days"—when I was in high school and college—I accepted these things as part of "life in these United States." I had shuffled out of the dean's office at the university with the same fatalism that many of my black brothers and sisters had when getting onto streetcars and buses and sitting behind "For Colored Only" signs. And I was of the *lucky* ones. I had *made* it. I looked around the group of ACP church editors and noted that my black brothers and sisters had yet to arrive in great numbers.

The women's movement did for me what the black movement did for blacks. It raised my consciousness and allowed me to see what scars I was carrying, where I was hurting, so that I could move beyond this "victim mentality" to understand why the ERA was important and why it is experiencing such a backlash. It also made me brave enough to share a few of these experiences at the ACP open hearing.

Another of my sisters at the meeting, Barbara Howard, associate editor of the *Saints Herald*, followed my testimony to say that she felt that we should have learned something from the Viet Nam War, that in the things she had experienced as a woman she could begin to hear "with black ears" what *they* were saying, and that a Christian group such as the ACP should be able "to deal with suffering in a creative way." I wish I could recapture her deep insights here, but I was shaking too much to write then down.

A straw vote which followed showed 25 in favor of going to Florida and 23 against. "You lose a few, you lose a few," I thought. But the Board of Directors of the ACP took this under advisement, exercised their leadership prerogative and decided *not* to go to Florida.

As it turned out, the 1979 meeting of the ACP will be in Toronto, in the country which sheltered so many US conscientious objectors to the Viet Nam War.

MARY LOU SUHOR

Mary Lou Suhor is managing editor of The Witness. This article, published in the June, 1978 issue of that publication, is reprinted with permission.

Politics in India: The Coming Crisis

M.M. Thomas

THE DEFEAT OF INDIRA GANDHI and the Congress Party in the parliamentary elections of March 1977 was truly a radical change for India. First, of course, it was a shift from arbitrary despotism to the rule of law. Second, it was the first time in the history of independent India that opposition parties were able to join together effectively against the Congress Party, which had run the country for 30 years.

In largest part the change was made possible by the common experience of the lawlessness of Mrs. Gandhi's Government during the two years of "International Emergency," as shown particularly by the solid anti-Congress vote in the Northern States because of the compulsory sterilization program pursued there. Another principal factor was the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan in bringing together the opposition parties to form the Janata Party on the eve of the elections, thereby giving the people of India a clear

opportunity to reaffirm their faith in democracy and its guarantees of liberty.

Now that the Janata Government of Morarji Desai has completed a year in office, what is to be said of the political situation in the country and of India's prospects for the future? It must be acknowledged that, to the degree its own power permits, the ruling party has fulfilled its promise to restore democratic liberties. The Congress Party still has enough seats in the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of Parliament, to prevent repeal of the mischievous 42nd Amendment, which incorporates certain powers of dictatorship into the Constitution. But freedom of the press, the fundamental rights of the human person, the independence of the judiciary and other democratic principles abrogated during the Emergency have been almost completely restored. (There is some question whether the Janata Government is breaking its pledges by attempting to write a provision for preventive detention into the Indian penal code—a move that has occasioned hot debate even within the Janata Party.)

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The Shan Commission and other commissions have documented clear violations of the Constitution in the declaration of the Emergency and have brought to light the utterly lawless and arbitrary abuses of power for personal purposes committed by Sanjay Gandhi and other members of the Indira caucus with Mrs. Gandhi's knowledge. One feels that people of the educated middle class who follow newspaper and radio accounts have been shocked by the Shan Commission's revelations and may not again submit so easily to a governmental seizure of dictatorial power. Even the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is defending civil liberties and democratic rights as a necessary basis for social and economic emancipation anywhere, and has gone so far as to criticize the Soviet Union for supporting the Emergency. Whether that is a permanent commitment is another matter.

All this is clear gain. It has to be said, however, that with freedoms restored in political and civil life the old problems, tensions and indiscipline that were suppressed under the Emergency have come again to the surface. In this context the Morarji Desai regime is under heavy criticism for not making democracy meaningful and stable by dealing with basic unmet social and economic needs.

By its election manifesto the Janata Party is committed to decentralization of both political and economic power. In a renewal of the heritage of Mohandas Gandhi, to which the party is nominally committed, the people were to gain experience in direct democracy at the local level. They would be encouraged to tackle their own social problems and, in community development programs, to employ "appropriate" (labor-intensive) technology. The manifesto promised to break the stalemate in the war against poverty and unemployment. In fact, however, the Government has not taken imaginative initiatives to move in these directions.

Mixed Signals

The difficulty rises partly out of the ideological confusion inherent in a party that is in fact a coalition of five pre-existing parties with widely different political ideas and economic nostrums, and partly out of the unbroken power of the groups that dominate

India's social and economic infrastructure. Despite the clarity of its manifesto, the economic program developed by the Janata Government is a mixture, promising all things to all political blocs and interest groups. The announced goal is to create solutions to rural unemployment and poverty within 10 years through creation of small-scale industries and concentration on the agricultural sector. But the farm lobby, the most powerful in the party, speaks for the landlords and upper caste people who control the power structure of the villages. The industrial sector remains in the hands of the monopolists, and the personnel of government bureaucracies is drawn largely from these same powerful groups.

In these circumstances it is hard to see how greater social justice for the villager will be achieved. The same conditions have hindered all efforts at social transformation in the past, and the Desai Government thus far has shown no sign of attacking the problem at the root. Neither has it taken effective steps against the atrocious mistreatment of the ex-untouchables, which continues unabated. The rising influence of militant Hindu nationalism troubles religious and linguistic minorities, though a case can be made that the Janata Party has been able to humanize the Hindu nationalists just as Nehru and the Congress Party humanized the Indian Communists.

Indira Gandhi still has appeal among the people and is still the most charismatic among India's political leaders. She has expressed no regret for the Emergency nor for putting power in the hands of lawless and unaccountable persons. Indira remains a sign of contradiction; her own party is divided, with the Congress Party (Indira) moving out. The Communist Party (Marxist), which resisted the Emergency, has now come to power in West Bengal and Tripura, whereas another faction—the Communist Party of India, which supported the Emergency—is in shambles. Mrs. Gandhi's faction is the stronger of the two Congress groupings, and she has been able to make capital of the Janata Government's inexperience and its losses in state assembly elections in some southern states and Maharashtra. But the import of these defeats can be exaggerated; they resulted from lack of organization in the south, a problem on which good progress is now being made.

Predictions are especially difficult today in India, for the situation following the Emergency and the defeat of the Congress is without precedent. The pressing problems that existed before the Emergency are still unsolved; the people in government and elsewhere who used the problems as justification for destruction of political liberties and personal rights are still active. They are fully prepared to build a welfare state without the people's participation; they

— Summer Schedule —

In accordance with our summer schedule we will publish one issue in July and one issue in August. With the September 18 issue we will resume our regular biweekly schedule.

would be entirely willing to lull the masses with crumbs of welfare benefits.

This is the kind of populism Indira Gandhi still represents. There are still many who feel that it is a better choice than the alternative of radical change in traditional power structures, conventional patterns of industrialization and even traditional morals than true economic and political democracy would demand. It may be that the Janata Party will achieve enough coherence to make the latter option credible and appealing. In any case there will be a realignment of political forces, ideologies and forces within the next few years, for the present alignment cannot be stable.

With many others who believe as I do that India has a vocation to show—or at least try hard to show—that an undeveloped country can pursue bread, freedom and equality together, I hope the coming crisis will be a crisis of a people awakening and choosing maturity. But that will take leadership. The question is whether a strong party or an alliance of national and regional parties will come into being to provide direction and confidence to the people. The question cannot be answered now. □

Churches in India: A Moment of Untruth

Richard W. Taylor

ON THE WHOLE the leadership of the Christian churches in India tended to support the Indira Gandhi regime during the emergency period. This support continued even after the regime's despotic character was apparent, even as it became increasingly violative of human rights and the rule of law. The Catholic hierarchy had the wit to stay mum. But the great majority of leaders of the other churches chimed in with pledges of loyalty and calls for support on the one hand and denunciations of fellow Christians who opposed the Emergency on the other. In retrospect this stance seems to have been morally wrong and politically mistaken.

Without diluting that conclusion, several reasons can be cited for the conformist policy of church leaders. One is the minority mentality of Christians, a factor particularly strong in Northern India. Hinduism is rigid in the North; Christians are a relatively tiny group, and most are still affected by the social insecurity born of their lower caste backgrounds.

Another factor was the very strong pressure brought on Christian leaders by the "Minorities Cell" of the Congress Party Working Committee; apparently it was felt that testimonials by Indian Christians in favor of the Emergency would be especially credible in the West.

Unfortunately it must be added that Mrs. Gandhi's cohorts got significant help in polishing her image from representatives of US Protestant mission organizations. My fellow United Methodists James K. Mathews and Charles Reynolds, for example, sang loudly of the goodness of Mrs. Gandhi's wicked ways in testimony before committees of the US Congress. Their opinions were based on the answers they got to political questions they put in Delhi—questions that were asked in public places where honest answers would have been dangerous. If they had privately consulted their old friends among Indian Christian academics, they would not have brought the same message to Washington. As things were, it seemed to us in India, as their testimony made headlines in India and the US, that they were serving the same function for Mrs. Gandhi that ex-medical missionary Representative Walter Judd had served for Chiang Kai-shek and the China Lobby a generation before.

Influential mission executives of other denominations took similar positions. Many others kept asking the West to reserve judgment, even as the number of political prisoners mounted to 150,000, as the use of torture became well documented, as it became increasingly clear that the country was being run by a small clique of favorites whose arrogance knew no limits. The effect of reserving judgment was to deny badly needed encouragement to the Indian Christian opposition. In contrast, Indian Christian supporters of the Emergency were able to draw foreign support from the Christian Peace Conference in Prague, which has influential members among church leaders in India. In consequence, *doing nothing* became, once more, the preferred ethical stance.

At the outset Mrs. Gandhi gained backing from many Christians and others by her promise to use the discipline of the Emergency to further a 20-point program for social and economic justice. The promise may well have been seriously intended. I know, for example, that Mrs. Gandhi was much influenced by her reading of Gunnar Myrdal's *Asian Drama*, in which Myrdal concluded that India's "soft democracy" lacked discipline in bringing maximum progress in development. In any case, many who had always supported the social goals of Mrs. Gandhi and her father Jawaharlal Nehru were ready to trade in a little freedom for greater growth and some movement toward justice.

It was always known, of course, that the real

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occasion for the Emergency was not social justice but political necessity: Mrs. Gandhi had to twist the Constitution to avoid being barred from political life by the courts for illegal election practices. The US Watergate experience had some effect here; in its light even some Indian Socialists came to believe that the “system” might work, and so they attempted legal redress against her instead of confining themselves only to political agitation—thus bringing on the declaration of Emergency.

Hard-Won Facts

Indian Christian opposition grew slowly even among those committed to human rights and civil liberties. Press censorship was so effective that it took some time before it became evident that the 20-point program was not working well. One point of the program, for example, was to have ended forever the system of “bonded labor,” through which an Indian could sell himself and even his descendants into debt slavery. The program was launched with some vigor and great fanfare, but in two months—as the opposition of village landholders and state politicians took hold—it was quietly abandoned and its two chief administrators transferred to harmless bureaucratic posts.

News of this kind traveled slowly. Independent economic analysis of other points in the program—showing, for example, that anti-inflation measures were not working—was accomplished only with difficulty. And it was only gradually that one could come to understand the gross excessiveness of the regime’s “disciplinary” measures, to see that its arbitrary violations of human rights were being carried out for the personal gain of Mrs. Gandhi’s cronies, to learn that savage and, alas, innovative forms of torture were becoming standard operating procedure for the police.

As these patterns came into focus, however, Christian opposition began to form, mostly around the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society (CISRS). Quite early on its director, Saral K. Chatterji, arranged some underground contacts with grassroots activist organizations. In *The Guardian*, a weekly journal of opinion that had been under CISRS direction for some years, the editorial comments of M.M. Thomas, director emeritus of CISRS [*Ed. note: See related article*], drew official attention and, finally, censorship. (The police once paid the printer a visit and gave him a great fright.)

Rather than risk misunderstanding by publishing only what the censor would pass, M.M. Thomas withdrew from *The Guardian* and started an occasional underground mimeographed newsletter,

Religion and Society. Even now it is the better part of valor not to explain exactly how it was produced. It was mailed in plain brown wrappers from different places to Thomas’ wide circle of friends. It contained both Thomas’ theoretical critiques of various aspects of the Emergency and, still more subversive, information from other uncensored sources about what was happening in India. Accurate information, one comes to realize, is the very staff of life for an opposition movement under a despotism. At about this time a number of us, independently of one another, began to reread Bonhoeffer.

Aboveground, M.M. Thomas set up an organization for the relief of the financial distress of the families of political prisoners. Often this was simply a matter of providing money for children’s school or college expenses. But even this humanitarian gesture, so clearly in the spirit of the historic Christian concern for prisoners, turned out to be polarizing. Most church leaders responded negatively, and some personages in the Church of North India, Church of South India, Orthodox and YMCA hierarchies went out of their way to make personal attacks on Thomas and the CISRS (which was not officially connected with the fund); some of these attacks broke close ecumenical friendships of decades’ standing. Nevertheless, Methodist Bishop Ram Dutt Joshi and Metropolitan Juhanon Mar Thoma courageously lent their names. Support came also from some leading Christians who backed Mrs. Gandhi to the bitter end but who were large-minded enough to see the point of the fund. I think especially of theological college principal J. Russell Chandran and missionary executive James P. Alter.

Rumors and Alarms

During the final year of the Emergency the CISRS quietly gathered several groups of friends to discuss what was going on and what might be done about it. The distinguished economist C.T. Kurien played a key role in these. Evidently our meetings were infiltrated, however, for the secret police questioned and threatened some participants. Once there was a rumor that M.M. Thomas had been arrested, and there followed a frantic burning of some personal and CISRS files. We were always certain that our mail was opened and our phones tapped. It was not really paranoia. The only reason Thomas was never in fact arrested was his status as a former chairman of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches; even the more gullible Western church leaders might have revised their opinion of Mrs. Gandhi’s benevolence had he been imprisoned.

When Mrs. Gandhi announced general elections

and removed restrictions on public discussion, a similar group met and issued a clear analytic statement titled "Why the Ruling Congress Should Be Voted Out"—six single-spaced, closely reasoned pages—which was widely circulated. At the same time M.M. Thomas helped form and lead the Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights Union branch in Kerala and the Clergy Fellowship Concerned With Human Rights there. Despite the relaxation of police state regulations these were bold steps. At the time it was hardly a sure thing that Mrs. Gandhi would meet defeat; but it was an absolute certainty that if she won, her opponents and critics would be remembered.

About the only other Christian group publicly known for a stand against the Emergency was the Urban Industrial and Rural Mission Workers which, along with other activities, issued an underground newsletter and several semi-public declarations critical of the regime.

This is a report rather than a reflection. In any case, it may be that the principal moral of the tale is too obvious to need further emphasis. On one point, however, it would be well to be explicit. One lesson of this experience is that US and other Western Christians have become all too willing to disparage the worth of civil liberties and other human rights when leaders of underdeveloped countries excuse tyranny in the name of efficiency. The guilt associated with our colonialist and exploitative past ought not to wipe out in our minds the human value of our painfully won democratic heritage. Yes, discipline is necessary. So is human decency. □

A University Decides To Keep Its Soul

Frank Baldwin

DESPITE THE REVELATIONS of Republic of Korea (ROK) intelligence and influence-buyer operations in the US and the repression of intellectuals in South Korea, American universities continue to beg money from President Park Chung Hee.

In February, University of Southern California President John R. Hubbard went to Seoul to solicit alms for a "center for Korean studies." Hubbard told a press conference, "We are philosophically ready but we are having fiscal difficulties as our university is a private one." The philosophy is apparently the same amoral pragmatism that led Harvard, Columbia and other universities to solicit and accept money from a funding organization linked to the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA).

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A rare exception to this pattern was the decision last fall by the University of Washington not to accept KCIA funds. Little credit is due the university administration, however, since it was a vice provost who initiated the secret request for funds to the ROK Government, contravening accepted standards of university autonomy and academic freedom.

On May 5, 1977, Dr. Robert Garfias, vice provost for faculty development, wrote to the South Korean consulate in San Francisco to "request assistance from the Korean [sic] Government in maintaining our Korean Studies Program." He explained that a professor in the Korean program was retiring and the university was unable to fund a replacement. Garfias mentioned that he had written to Dr. Kim Kyong-Won (a special assistant to President Park Chung Hee) and asked him to "consider the possibility of providing assistance from the Korean [sic] Government for the University of Washington in the form of an endowed chair for Korean studies for a period of perhaps two or three years."

Garfias offered a quid pro quo for the money:

My idea would be that if we could have the assistance of the Korean [sic] Government in helping us select a senior professor from Korea in Korean language and Literature, or some related field, who could fill this position until such time as we could continue to maintain it on our own budget, we would thereby not lose the excellent start which we have established in the development of our Korean Studies Program. [Emphasis added].

A sense of perspective is helpful here. Any American university official who allowed, for example, the Ford Foundation to "help" select a faculty member in return for a grant would be drummed off the campus in disgrace. Such a concession is exactly the "strings attached" to money that we are always told is given with "no strings attached." Permitting a non-university organization to select faculty is a surrender of autonomy. It is subversive of fundamental intellectual values when considerations other than excellence govern appointments.

During the fifties and sixties, of course, many US schools traded their autonomy for Federal funds. The abuses related to the Viet Nam War in particular are still fresh in our memories. For example, there was the scandal-ridden Center for Vietnamese Studies at Southern Illinois University (SIU). Organized by Agency for International Development functionaries and ambitious university bureaucrats, that great caper made SIU synonymous with hapless intellectual prostitution, and SIU's bid for big-league educational status ended as a very bad joke. Those sad days of university complicity with client governments and intelligence operations were supposed to be over, to have ended with the US defeat in Southeast Asia.

What are the ROK Government's qualifications for "helping" to select a University of Washington faculty member? Park revised the Constitution in 1972 to give himself dictatorial powers; since May 1975 he has ruled by Presidential Emergency Decree #9, which forbids any criticism of his Administration. Academics, journalists and writers have been special targets.

It isn't only from Korea that funding offers are coming to US colleges and universities. According to a report in *The New York Times* (May 23), temptingly sizable sums have been tendered to a number of institutions by individuals, institutions and governments in the Middle East—but the academic community is not of one mind as to whether acceptance of such support is compatible with institutional integrity:

—The University of Southern California accepted \$1 million from Iran to endow a chair in petroleum engineering.

—After student protests, officials of Queens College of the City University of New York rejected a \$100,000 grant from the National University of Iran to fund a center that would monitor the activities of Iranians studying in this country.

—Bryn Mawr, Haverford and Swarthmore gave up their proposed joint Arab studies program upon learning that the anticipated \$590,000 grant was to come from a Saudi Arabian arms dealer.

—Fordham University is asking the King Faisal Foundation (Saudi Arabia) for up to \$1,750,000 for a professorship and Islamic studies.

—The US State Department's Agency for International Development is paying almost \$10 million to US colleges and universities for providing assistance to Middle Eastern countries.

Honor Roll

Only a few of the most prominent can be cited from the long list of victims. Former editor Chang Jun Ha, a 1963 Magsaysay Prize winner for outstanding intellectual and journalistic achievement, was murdered in August 1975. Poet Kim Chi Ha has been in prison since 1975 for protesting the execution of political prisoners on trumped-up charges in April 1975. Other poets and writers have been arrested and imprisoned, and many professors have been fired from teaching positions for demanding basic civil rights. The staff of the *Tongso Ilbo*, Korea's oldest newspaper, has been purged for trying to print the news, an arrogance equated with *lese majeste* in South Korea today.

Not exactly an equal opportunity employer, the Park regime. Its supporters get preference and jobs; dissidents get sacked and go to prison. To the KCIA, affirmative action means financial support for "scholars" (including American academics) who endorse the regime or at least remain silent.

Desperate for favorable publicity, the Park Government, therefore, found the Garfias request almost too good to be true. The ROK consulate relayed it to the Korean Trading Association (KTA)—which has been identified by Kim Hyung Wook, former director of the KCIA, as a conduit for

the KCIA. In testimony on June 22, 1977 before the House Subcommittee on International Organization, Kim stated that the KTA, acting on KCIA orders, funded academic front operations in the US. (Publicity about a \$1 million grant through the KTA to Harvard University in 1976 had made some institutions wary of accepting ROK funds. Imagine the delight in KCIA/KTA headquarters in Seoul when the Garfias letter arrived!) On September 6, 1977, the KTA offered to support a position at the University of Washington for three years at \$20,000 per year.

Then *l'affaire KTA* hit the fan in Seattle. Although the appointee was to teach in the Department of Asian Languages and Literatures, Garfias had not consulted with the department. The faculty only learned of his actions at a departmental meeting in late September. Hard to believe, but a foreign government had been invited to fund and "help" staff a position without even notifying the department concerned.

The Asian Languages and Literature department raised objections; the college newspaper, *The Daily*, broke the story, and a spirited debate broke out in its pages and elsewhere on campus. Key officials involved in the request—fortunately for them—happened to be away from the campus, including Garfias, who was in Romania. Senior administrators were obviously confused and embarrassed by the revelations. They disavowed any knowledge of Garfias' action or refused to respond to calls from *The Daily* reporters. On October 3 President Hogness informed the KTA that the university declined the offer because he was "uncertain of our ability to make a long-term commitment to graduate studies in Korean languages, especially at the doctoral level."

The right decision was made, probably for the right reasons, but sugarcoated with an evasive gloss. Hogness was subsequently praised for having found a diplomatic way out. One can only wonder why. A university president's job is to nurture and administer the search for truth, and here the KCIA/KTA/Park Chung Hee triad are dedicated to subverting the very values that infuse a university president's career. Surely they deserved nothing better than the back of President Hogness's hand.

At the same time, the Korean Studies program at the University of Washington deserves support. A distinguished faculty, including Dr. James Palais, America's premier Koreanologist, have made Seattle in recent years the most interesting center in the US, and the University of Washington is attracting the best young faculty and students in the Korean field. To curtail the study of Korean literature is a cruel blow to the efforts of administrators, faculty and students over the past decade. The fiscal malaise behind the decision is real; the pressures to raise funds are acute. Nevertheless, there can be no compromise with KCIA attempts to improve the Park regime's image through tainted philanthropy while simultaneously savagely mistreating its own intellectuals.

A home truth valid for other American universities was stated by Turell V. Wylie, acting chairman of the Asian Language and Literature department:

The responsibility for funding a core faculty position, such as the one in Korean literature, rests initially with the administration of this university

and ultimately with the taxpayers of the State of Washington; not with the government of any foreign country.

Amen.



The Creation Of Clients

AS THIS NATION MOVES TOWARD 1984, it becomes more clear each passing year that whatever stance the state takes in relationship to its people, it won't be as harsh and cruel dictator but rather as benevolent "Big Brother." And that Brother will have at his disposal the largest armamentarium of benevolent services seen anywhere in the world. Those services are managed and manipulated by a professional class, expertly trained and highly educated to diagnose "sickness" and to supply a "service."

The background is economic. Quietly and imperceptibly we have been moving from a society whose economy is based on the manufacture and marketing of tangible products to one in which the economy is based largely on the provision of services. Approximately 75 percent of the civilian work force in this country earn their living by *serving* each other. An often-cited but still dramatic illustration of this growth is seen in statistics from the auto industry: General Motors spends more on health insurance for its workers than it does on steel for its cars.

On the face of things, this state of affairs appears to represent a real and laudable achievement for a highly industrialized country. Isn't it desirable to spend more money on taking care of people than on material goods, many of which people don't even need? After all, the growth of the helping professions that produce "caring services" has got to be an advance over a society that has polluted the physical environment with a proliferation of goods created by high technology and fueled by ever-rising desires for conspicuous over-consumption.

It is precisely because what is happening seems so desirable and so apolitical that one wants to examine the drift toward an over-served society. No one has been more incisive and provocative in this regard than John McKnight, associate director of the Center for Urban Affairs at Northwestern University. I am indebted to him for his consciousness-raising on this subject. In "The Medicalization of Politics" (*The Christian Century*, Sept. 17, 1975) he calls our attention to this by way of illustration of the gargantuan growth of the American health system, which consists in magnifying the importance of professionally controlled sources of health while denying the incredible resource of self-taught and self-motivated persons taking their health care into their own hands. To the extent the public becomes convinced that what they really need is medically defined services, people are not citizens any longer but are defined as "clients,"

just as when they were gobbling up goods they were defined as "consumers." McKnight says:

Clients are people who believe they are going to be better because someone else knows better. In the US this training in "clientage" contributed heavily to the support of the Viet Nam War. Having been trained by professional services to believe in professional expertise, American clients waged war by putting their faith in systems analysts. . . . Prepared for professional dependence, they accept the diagnosis and prescription of a new breed of war-making professionals.

The pollution of society by professionalization and over-servicing robs people of their potency and of their freedom. It finally sanitizes, pasteurizes and bottles the milk of human kindness in service institutions, turning us into lifelong clients or patients and depriving us of the tools and skills with which we can take care of ourselves and those we love. Most of us who are white and middle-class have been spared the worst indignities of this over-served society, but the poor, the children, the elderly—the powerless minorities—all too often have been turned into helpless passive-dependents, deprived of their liberties by professionalized services. One of the major reasons that we more affluent people escaped the services is that for the most part we ourselves were the "helping professionals" and the "experts" servicing the needs of people. But our own self-interest and involvement ought not to hide from us the dangers that accompany this drift toward a serviced society.

New Needs for the People

Do not confuse this argument with an attack on the welfare state or creeping socialism, for political style doesn't greatly affect the institutional product. It was Ivan Illich who pointed out that schools, hospitals and armies look the same in Moscow, Prague or Detroit. It doesn't make that much difference whether the underlying economics are Marxist or Keynesian. In the high-productivity, over-consumption economy, we have had to stimulate needs so that people would buy the goods that were being produced. So in an over-served society we depend on "marketing" and "educational" techniques to create *clients* who need the services that are being created. If advertising can make people feel sexually inadequate until they own a

Fuller Studies

of the phenomena sketched in this article are contained in Ivan Illich's most recent book, *Toward a History of Needs* (New York: Pantheon, 1978, \$7.95, hardcover), which follows his *Medical Nemesis* and *De-schooling Society*. Besides Ira Glasser, other contributors to *Doing Good: The Limits of Benevolence* (New York: Pantheon, 1978, \$2.95, paper) are Willard Gaylin, Steven Marcus and David Rossman, each of whom brings a distinct viewpoint to the topic and presents a differing analysis.

car, use a deodorant or buy a lotion, it is even simpler to make a human being feel deficient or deviant or deprived if they don't have a certain service.

If I define your condition as an "aberration" or a "disease" then I have made you an eligible consumer of a new service. If I can define your need, I can provide you services, i.e., professionals and experts who know what your pathology is and what is best for you. And if you wrap all this help and rehabilitation in the language of "caring" and "loving" the helpless, the innocent child, the infirm, the aging, the mentally ill—then you have made the government into a surrogate mother or father or big brother. The state is no longer simply a few political institutions, but it includes a myriad of caring institutions called "social services."

Most of us religious and political liberals have thought of these services as benevolent and humanitarian, "a social extension of humanity's best individual instincts." It wasn't until the "rights revolution" of the sixties that we began to see that in "doing good" we could be doing harm to the recipients of our benevolence. Ira Glasser, executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union, in an essay on "Prisoners of Benevolence," levels the judgment:

The record of public charity is an unloving record of punishment, degradation, humiliation, intrusion and incarceration. . . . Dependence on the institutions of caring establishes—for millions of people—a condition of fragility against encroachments of power, and benevolence is the mask that hides it." (*Doing Good: The Limits of Benevolence*)

Our Niehburian mentors should have prepared us to foresee what "good people" and "helping professions" could do with power once it was in their hands. The question to be raised for further consideration is whether, given the American propensity for over-kill in all its wars (whether on people, poverty, drugs or disease), we can expect that an over-serviced and over-professionalized society will debilitate and disable people rather than liberate and heal them.

HOWARD MOODY

A Prison for Lake Placid

DURING THE 1980 WINTER OLYMPICS at Lake Placid some 1800 young athletes from around the world will find themselves housed in an "Olympic Village," now under construction in that remote corner of upstate New York. When the games are over the athletes' places will be filled, if all goes as planned, by some 500 young male Federal prisoners—mostly black and Hispanic, mostly poor, mostly from far-off cities of the Northeast.

The Olympic Village will exist as such for two brief weeks in February, 1980. The new Federal medium

security prison will last for generations. The site is in a mountainous area 350 miles from any metropolitan area, ill-served by public transportation, with few if any inexpensive accommodations for visitors. This means that low-income inmates, the vast majority, will be cut off from their families, friends, counselors, potential employers and other community resources. And Lake Placid, symbol of international sporting competition, will become one more small prison town, on a par with Dannemora, Ossining and Attica. Indeed, another Attica tragedy may be in preparation. Considering the increasingly non-white character of prison populations and the overwhelmingly white predominance in the Adirondack Mountains, the prison will inevitably become another symbol and instrument of racism: dark-skinned youths from urban ghettos being herded by rural whites, people from a different culture who speak a different language. To many, the siting suggests an American Gulag.

All this is in direct conflict with the policies of most modern governments, with the United Nations' "Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners" and with the Federal Bureau of Prisons' own criteria, which call for locating prisons close to the areas most inmates come from and to which they will return. For that matter, this country's continuing heavy dependence on incarceration is itself at odds with trends elsewhere. Our rate of incarceration, 255 inmates for every 100,000 people, is the highest of any industrial nation. If the figures are broken down by race, the incarceration rate for non-whites flies off the charts: 333.4 per 100,000!

Meantime, the Bureau of Prisons presses for more of the same. It has opened 21 new penal facilities since 1970, has nine more at some stage of advanced planning or construction and as many as two dozen others still on the drawing boards. The proliferation of prisons isn't working to reduce crime, costs both for construction and maintenance are extremely high, yet the program rolls on like the Mississippi.

The Lake Placid plan, then, is only one example of a policy that is at best cost-defective, at worst repressive. But there is something especially ugly about the transformation of a facility related to the Olympics—the very construction of which is being justified by that relationship—into still another human warehouse. Why is this happening? And how was it brought to pass?

Payroll Payola

Given the Bureau of Prisons' all-too-eager willingness to overlook its own siting rules, the answer to the first question is simple: Jobs. Unemployment is chronically high in the Adirondacks, and the boost given the area by the heavy spending for Olympic facilities will be temporary. Business and community leaders, on learning that the Bureau of Prisons was looking for a site for a Federal youth prison to service the Northeast, saw the possibility of up to 200 permanent, "recession-proof" jobs, along with other benefits to local suppliers of prison needs.

As for the means employed, the district's US Rep. Robert McEwen found a way to bypass the commit-

tees that would normally have reviewed the proposal, such as the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties and Administration of Justice. Instead the proposal was put through a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, on the rationale that the "primary use" of the project was for housing for athletes and that the later use as a prison was "secondary"—even though the money for the project is being funneled through the budget of the Bureau of Prisons, even though the plans being used are copied from those for other youth prisons, even though the "secondary use" will last for decades and the "primary" for less than a month. In the words of one Congressional aide, the deal was "wired from the start." Even in the region most affected the idea was kept under wraps. According to Ed McHale, former publisher of *The Lake Placid News*, whose own home is a baseball throw away from the Village/prison site, there was "no community consultation, debate or approval whatsoever."

There have been other procedural abuses that ought to offend the Congress and the people. At least some athletes in the US, Canada and Europe are finding the whole proposal offensive to the spirit of the Olympics. But the truly serious abuse is that directed against the youths of today and far into the future who will be isolated for long periods from the people they know and the help they need, all to satisfy the at-best-dubious needs of the Bureau of Prisons and to soften economic hardships in one small region of New York State.

Those hardships are real, but it is not necessary to create a prison to help solve them. Any number of other proposals for "after-use" of the Olympic Village have been put forward, including the idea of turning it into a permanent housing facility in connection with a training center for Olympic athletes. The US Olympic Committee (USOC) is seeking a site for just such a center. Such a plan would be consistent with the spirit of the Olympiad—and according to USOC estimates it would generate more jobs for local residents than would the prison.

Even in New York's North Country region, considerations like these have brought growing opposition to the Olympic prison plan. An ad hoc group called Stop the Olympic Prison (STOP) is operating from the Syracuse offices of the State Council of Churches (3049 E. Genesee St., Syracuse, NY 13224), with sponsorship by the National Moratorium on Prison Construction and the New York Moratorium. Support for STOP comes also from the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, the National Interreligious Task Force on Criminal Justice, the National Urban League, such former Olympic stars as Bruce Kidd of Canada and Phil Shinnick of the US, and from Sports for the People.

There is a sense in which this is a "useful" issue to people like the present writer who have worked for years to persuade Americans of the bankruptcy of US prison policy. The Olympic connection gets people's attention. But it's not just an organizing issue. It is important to win. Winning is possible—provided enough people in the US and abroad bring enough pressure on the Administration, the Judiciary Committees of the Congress and the US Olympic Committee for a reversal of the original grotesque plan and

the substitution of a sports training center available to all Americans.

S. BRIAN WILLSON

S. BRIAN WILLSON is a member of the bar of the District of Columbia and the founder of the National Moratorium on Prison Construction.

Correspondence

TO THE EDITOR: It was with dismay that I read Alan Geyer's attack ("Disarmament: A Losing Cause in Need of Rescue," May 15 issue) on the Mobilization for Survival (MFS) in an otherwise useful article on the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament. The fact that CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS printed this piece on the eve of the International Religious Convocation for Human Survival in New York City (May 25-26) and of other mass activities for disarmament in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco also leaves one with some misgivings about its editorial judgment.

Geyer describes the MFS as "an alliance of pacifists and revolutionary organizations." I'm not sure which revolutionary organizations he had in mind, but no doubt some of us are committed to that total revolution of the human spirit that Jesus called for. In any case, as of this writing, "revolutionaries" such as Coretta King, Dorothy Day, Rabbi Pilchik (president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis), William Winpisinger (president of the International Association of Machinists), William Thompson (Stated Clerk of the United Presbyterian Church), Rep. John Conyers (along with other Congressional representatives) have not been ashamed to be identified with the MFS.

While I agree that the work for peace and social justice cannot be limited to mass and direct action, I also believe that to exclude them is to rob this critical struggle of an essential component. If Geyer's memory needs refreshing, I would recommend the Pentagon Papers as well as extensive testimony during the Watergate Senate Hearings as helpful documentation. Both of these sources along with others testify to the influence that mass demonstrations, conscientious objectors, G.I. resisters and nonviolent draft file destruction, along with lobbying and letter writing, exerted on government policy during the war in Viet Nam. While some serious errors were committed, "the anti-war movement of the '60s" was not simply a history of shame or excess.

It is also premature to bury the traditions of Gandhi, King, Thoreau and Jesus. As a Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany, I only wish that some people there had found the courage to organize a mass movement including civil disobedience while there was still time. The threatening nuclear holocaust requires no less from us.

Alan Geyer's criticism of the MFS position on banning nuclear power strangely enough is shared by his academic, anti-nuclear energy counterparts who feel that associating with "disarmament kooks" will hurt their cause as well. But the role of nuclear energy

technology in proliferating nuclear weapons as well as the failure to find solutions for the storage of nuclear weapons and nuclear waste with a radioactive lifetime of up to 250,000 years inexorably links these two issues. Geyer neglected to cite the important National Council of Churches study on "The Plutonium Economy," which substantiates this point.

In charging the MFS with paternalism vis-a-vis the Third World, Geyer underestimates the growing awareness among environmentalists which goes beyond concern about pollution to the hard economic and political realities underlying nuclear sales (70 percent of them by General Electric and Westinghouse) to the "underdeveloped" world. Aside from the question of whether these nations have any more "right" to our reactors than to our Phantom jets, one needs to see Western nuclear technology sales as another form of industrial penetration with its concomitant dependence on First World fuel, technicians and gear.

Third World energy needs are a serious problem that merit serious attention, but the arguments in favor of developing clean, renewable energy sources apply as well to the Third World as they do to the First. The proposed nuclear solution to their energy needs represents an attempt to hook Third World countries on the myth of unlimited growth that will ultimately be as destructive of more balanced social objectives in their societies as they are in ours. . . .

Finally, contrary to Geyer's predictions, 100,000 copies of the Pastoral Letter on Human Survival (perhaps more prophetic than pastoral) signed by almost 100 religious leaders, were distributed and widely reprinted. Among the 3,000 participants in the recent religious convocation were high-level religious leaders along with clergy and laypeople of all ages and backgrounds. The moving Witness for Survival which brought Hiroshima survivors to the South Bronx was greeted by the President of the Bronx Council of Churches, the Executive Director of Acción Cívica Evangelica and the Bishop for Hispanic Affairs of the Archdiocese of New York. The next day's impressive Interfaith Worship Service and procession saw half a dozen Catholic bishops, including Bishop Thomas Kelly, secretary general of the US Catholic Conference, and Bishop Batazzi, international president of Pax Christi, Rome, walking down 42nd Street to the UN in full episcopal attire along with other dignitaries.

An article on the Mobilization for Survival in the June 5 *Newsweek* (this time to the left of the CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS) said that "As in the Viet Nam era, there are plenty of guitars, long hair and lusty chanting. . . but the new breed of protesters also includes Gray Panthers, young mothers, farmers and professionals." We invite Alan Geyer to see us as his allies. The Vietnamese used to say that there are many ways to the one way. Or as a noted peacemaker once remarked "In my Father's house there are many mansions."

PAUL MAYER
New York, N.Y.

The writer served as convenor of the Religious Task-force for the Mobilization for Survival.

REPLY:

It is not for me to defend the editors' judgment in permitting such a mischievous piece as mine to appear in their journal. They may be filled with remorse. However, I am not persuaded to retreat.

Mr. Mayer must know by now that many signers of the Mobilization's "Pastoral Letter" regret having given their names and many others whose commitment to nuclear disarmament is profound could not conscientiously sign it.

I am deeply concerned myself about the rapid diffusion of nuclear technology and its perilous consequences. This has become a global problem, however, which Americans can no longer control, whether they want to monopolize or abolish nuclear power. There is no alternative to international cooperation in nuclear controls.

Mass political action can indeed be legitimate. I have been deeply saddened, however, to hear some of the most prominent leaders of the Mobilization mouthing words of outright hate and total cynicism, even against Andy Young. As one who has taught many seminars on Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr., I have some notion that thorough discipline and a spirit of love are essentials of redemptive mass action.

Many of us here at the United Nations during the Special Session were particularly disappointed by the unwillingness of Mobilization leaders to reschedule their sit-in at the UN Mission for a day other than June 12. The UN itself provided an unprecedented special opportunity on that same date for international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to address the Assembly. Both delegates and NGOs from many nations anticipated that the sit-in on the same day would draw media attention away from the UN forum, and asked for an accommodation by the Mobilization—but were rebuffed.

I really don't have much relish for criticizing should-be allies in the disarmament movement. But if we are to be truly free to speak truth to power in our government, we must also speak what we believe to be truth to the power of non-governmental organizations, even and especially when they claim to be religious.

ALAN GEYER

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Christianity and Crisis

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Understanding Reagan's Budget

- Gar Alperovitz
- Marian Wright Edelman
- Jeff Faux
- Shirley Chisholm

front of the book

BEFORE YOU TELL US, we'll tell you: There is some overlap between this issue and the special issue of March 30 on "Racism in the 80's." There is also some overlap *within* each of the two issues. And there will be still more in the issue of April 27, in the form of an article by Michael Harrington addressing the links between racism, classism, poverty and economic decline.

Overlap, we hold, is not always overkill. A looming disaster can help to concentrate the mind. In the harsh new light cast by the Administration's budget proposals, it may become easier to see how the US economy actually works, and how it could be made to work differently. President Reagan may be doing a great deal to make economics more understandable. We want to do our part too.

So does our sister journal, *Commonweal*; a recent (March 13) editorial neatly summed up the response of skeptics to the Administration's diagnosis of the country's economic ills:

"... A lot of government programs may need trimming or recasting altogether; but it is not the bigness of government, especially Federal Government, that is at the heart of America's economic troubles. The number of Federal employees, both as a percentage of the population and as an absolute figure, has been dropping over the last decades. So has the percentage of GNP devoted to Federal purchases of goods and services. Yes, transfer payments have grown—without them, the last decade would have seen a marked increase in inequality—but for all that, between 1968 and 1980 the portion of Gross National Product accounted for by all Federal outlays increased by only six-tenths of one percent. It is at the state and local level that the growth of government has really taken place; and yet, again, between 1968 and 1980 all levels of government together

increased their tax receipts by less than one-and-a-half percent of GNP. Federal debt, as a percentage of GNP, is falling, not increasing. Corporate taxes have steadily shrunk. And government in the US spends less, owes less, taxes less, regulates less and pushes less for equality than do the governments in most of the other advanced industrial nations—whose economies are outperforming ours."

Here is today's quiz in the history of economic ideas: Who said the following, and when:

"High [tax] rates tend to destroy individual initiative and seriously impede the development of productive business. Taxpayers subject to the higher rates cannot afford, for example, to invest in American . . . industries, or embark on new enterprises in the face of taxes taking away 50 percent or more of any return that may be realized. The result is to . . . discourage men of wealth from taking the risks incidental to developing and opening new businesses."

The answer (supplied by Congressman Henry Reuss, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee):

Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Harding and Coolidge, speaking in support of a proposed two-thirds tax cut as part of the "Program for Economic Recovery" of the 1920's. ("Unfortunately," says Reuss, "much of the Harding-Coolidge tax reduction went into luxury consumption goods and into speculative investment.")

Question 2: What did Mellon say when the Great Crash occurred?

Answer: "Liquidate labor, liquidate stocks, liquidate the farmers, liquidate real estate."

More overlap. In her article in this issue Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm mentions proposed cuts in funding for the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC). Barbara Howell, issues analyst for Bread for the World (and spouse of C&C Contributing Editor Leon Howell), told a House subcommittee something of the human and the economic impact that would follow from the proposed 30 percent cut in WIC funding:

"WIC is well-targeted and cost effective,

with a success rate rarely achieved in any Federal program. Mothers participating must be both low-income and at nutritional risk. This means that not only do they have inadequate sources of income to buy food but also that their pregnancies and the health of their children are complicated by dangerous medical problems such as anemia or slow weight gain.

"These mothers receive food such as milk, eggs, juice and infant formula, and are given instruction in proper nutrition. WIC fills a critical need at a critical time—mothers participate during important growing times when proper nutrition can make a lifelong difference for their children. A recent study by the Harvard School of Public Health found that every \$1 spent on nutritious food for pregnant mothers saved \$3 on costs of incubators, medicine and special health care after birth."

Nationwide, the 30 percent budget cut would deny WIC help to 700,000 eligible women and children. A study by the Massachusetts State Health Department of 12,000 WIC participants found: "In the WIC group, there were 12 deaths per 4,128 live births compared to 37 deaths per 4,128 live births in the non-WIC comparison group." A study by the Department of Agriculture, estimated that the prenatal part of the WIC program, costing about \$150 million a year, generates savings of \$450 million a year in averted hospital care for low birth-weight babies. "Costs for additional treatment during the first year of the . . . infant's life would also be considerable."

As Peter Albin wrote in his article in the last issue, economics is simple.

MOST OF THE CONTENT of this issue is severely critical of the Reagan Administration. At the last moment, news came of the attempt on the President's life. These things need saying:

—This action is hateful in itself, dismay in its reminder of the extent to which we are ruled by violence, random or purposeful.

—Ronald Reagan is enduring his ordeal with grace, wit, courage and good cheer; in doing so, he serves the nation well.

—What is said above and by our contributors remains as valid as ever, in our judgement, and as important. We agree with those who argue that the Reagan program, if enacted, may well foster an increase in aberrational violence. □

COMMUNITY ORGANIZING" has become a vogue phrase. Not all that is done in its name is worth doing, or worth praising. What is community organizing? How do you know when you're doing it, and when you're doing it well? Here are some notes toward answers.

First, and simply stated, *community organization is a process of working with people to assist them to develop powerful, democratically run "mass-based" organizations through which they can defend and advance their interests and values.*

By "mass-based" I mean that there is on-going large-scale participation on the part of the constituency of the organization. I am assuming in these remarks that the organizations in question are democratic in both their procedures or proc-

MIKE MILLER is director of ORGANIZE, a San Francisco-based training school for community organizers and activists. This article is a modified version of an address given to the recently held consultation of "Religious Piety and Political Reaction" sponsored by the Board of Homeland Ministries of the United Church of Christ. The bulk of the conference proceedings will appear in the Spring issue of the UCC publication *New Conversations*.

What Is an Organizer?

Mike Miller

esses and in the values that guide their work.

Second, *community organization is based on several critical assumptions:*

(A) The major injustices of the world exist because it is not in the self-interest of those in power to end them.

(B) One of the great injustices is the denial of people's right to participate in making the basic decisions that affect their lives.

(C) The alienation, loss of dignity, feelings of incompetence or lack of self-worth, and so forth that are common among powerless people can only be overcome by those people themselves entering into the arena of struggle and action.

(D) People will typically enter into the arena of struggle when there is a prospect

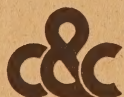
of winning something. If that is to happen, proposals to people aimed at encouraging them to participate must be believable, immediate and specific.

(E) The experience of *winning* is an essential ingredient for people to develop the self-confidence and the civic competence necessary to participate in making bigger decisions on more fundamental problems and issues.

Third, community organizers are people who work full-time at assisting specific groups of people to develop community organizations. As in all professions or callings, ranging from the law to the clergy, there are fools and charlatans among those who call themselves "organizers." In my experience, however, most community organizers are deeply committed to the values of liberty, equality and community. We are small "d" democrats and would, I think, agree with Walt Whitman:

We have frequently printed the word Democracy. Yet I cannot too often repeat that it is a word the real gist of which still sleeps, quite unawakened,

(Continued on page 110)



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The Budget and the Economy

Gar Alperovitz and Jeff Faux

THE DEBATE OVER economic policy within the Reagan Administration is haunted by two specters. The first is Thatcherism, which warns that attempting to halt inflation by inducing massive unemployment is both counterproductive and politically suicidal. Avoiding Thatcherism and the subsequent "erosion of our capacity to govern successfully and revive the economy before November 1982" is, in fact, the central thesis of the much publicized memorandum by Republican Congressman Jack Kemp and David Stockman, director of the Office of Management and Budget, raising the possibility of an "economic Dunkirk."

The second specter is the ghost of Jimmy Carter, which reminds the new Administration that watered-down austerity policies do not work either. Politically unable to risk Thatcherite levels of employment, and unwilling to defy conservative opposition to wage-price controls, Carter and his advisers tried to slip past the election with a patchwork compromise of gestures and half policies. It cost him the Presidency. The *New York Times*/CBS interview of voters leaving polls, for example, showed that 59 percent of those who voted for Reagan listed inflation as the determining factor. Unemployment, particularly in the Northeastern and Midwestern states hit with plant layoffs, was second. The hostages, military strength, issues raised by the Moral Majority and so forth trailed far behind what Reagan's pollster Richard Wirthlin called "the economic cluster."

According to Stockman, Kemp and their neoconservative allies, the only way to escape the horrors of both Thatcherism and Carterism and still preserve conservative principles is through quick stimulation of economic growth. Not only do they argue that a sharp jump in joblessness is politically unacceptable to a party on whose hands the stain of the great depression still lingers; they are also telling Republicans that, short of a return to the 1930's, austerity cannot cure inflation. Unemployment, by generating more "soup line" social welfare spending and less tax revenues, increases the Federal deficit. In their view, this will add more fuel to the inflation fire. Their emphasis that our current deficits are caused primarily by failure to achieve growth (rather than simply by "waste in government") marks a major break

with traditional conservative analysis. Stockman and Kemp are willing to abandon an effort to balance the budget in the short run and bet that the growth generated by an immediate large tax cut will produce enough revenue to balance the budget before the next Presidential election.

Traditional conservatives—like Arthur Burns and Herbert Stein—disagree. More bluntly than ever before, they are arguing that Thatcherism is the only way. Stein, who chaired the Council of Economic Advisers under both Nixon and Ford, answering a January *Fortune* article by Stockman and Kemp, wrote that demand must be squeezed out of the economy by cutting the deficit now, and that higher unemployment is a "predictable by-product" of this process. The task is for the new President to stand firm and above all stop promising that unemployment will not increase.

What is at stake is far more than a dispute over how to handle the looming second half of a double-dip recession. It is the opportunity—fragile, but still an opportunity—for Republicans to establish national political hegemony over the next two decades. In the election debate, Ronald Reagan came at Carter from the lunch-pail left; he talked jobs while Carter talked tighter belts. Having come this far, Reagan insiders are seeking to parlay their victory into the fundamental political realignment of the long-dreamed-of revanchist coalition. They do not want to blow their opportunity on an overdose of Milton Friedman's theories.

It is no surprise that the assault on both Thatcherism and Carterism is led by two Republican newcomers. Stockman is 34 and Kemp 45; their hopes for their own future and the future of a generation of conservative activists lie in the balance. The outcome will obviously have considerable implications for the Democrats. If the Stockman/Kemp strategy is accepted and succeeds, the Democrats, already denied much of the West and large chunks of the South, could be cut off from their essential constituencies in the industrial Northeast. That prospect could roll the Democrats back to where they were before 1932.

Meeting the First Test

But first the Republicans must deliver on the economy. This requires a coherent set of policies that will simultaneously produce jobs and control inflation. The specific neoconservative policy proposals are an odd mixture of

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conventional conservative tax subsidies that serve business and upper income classes, and conventional liberal deficit spending to maintain demand.

The key is the latter. Although they take pains to deny any affiliation, like good Keynesians Stockman and Kemp give a high priority to deficit spending. Like good conservatives, they want to generate growth through the private sector—by cutting taxes rather than through public outlays. John Kenneth Galbraith once labeled a



similar mix "reactionary Keynesianism." The neoconservatives are still avid budget cutters. Stockman has already compiled a long list of programs he wants to slash, including many that will step on Republican Congressional toes. But to promote growth, they would immediately cut taxes *faster* than spending. Ironically, the neoconservatives are determined to push the Keynesian formula through where Carter's liberal advisers got cold feet.

In their debate with the traditionalists, it is the tax program that the neoconservatives are trying to defend above all else. Stockman/Kemp argue that "dilution of the tax cut program to limit short run static revenue losses would be counterproductive." What is needed is a set of "policy initiatives designed to spur output," including "the calendar year 1981 and 1982 installments of Kemp-Roth [a 10 percent tax cut each year], reduction of the top income tax rate on unearned income to 50 percent, further reduction in [tax rates on] capital gains and a substantial reform of corporate [tax write-offs for] depreciation."

There is no mystery among economists about how to stimulate economic growth—spend money. But the inflationary bias in an economy where spending pushes up prices faster than it reduces unemployment paralyzed the Carter Administration—so much so that it abandoned the traditional Democratic tool of deficit spending to generate jobs in favor of a halfway policy of Republican austerity. How then do the reactionary Keynesians propose to deal with inflation, the central problem upon which conventional Keynesianism stumbled?

Here their proposition gets murky. Stockman/Kemp

hope to end long-term inflation in two ways. First, "supply-side" theory presumes a tremendous explosion in supply because people will work harder and take more investment risks in response to lower tax rates. For this claim, unfortunately, there is very little empirical evidence. Neoconservatives like to point out that their assumption makes common sense: People work harder if rewards go up. But in an America dedicated to leisure and the good life, it is just as much common sense for people to take their rewards in more leisure and less risk. What statistical evidence there is falls both ways. It appears that when taxes are cut some people work harder and take more risks, some people work less and take fewer risks, and some people do not change their behavior at all. Even if tax incentives were to work marvelously, they offer no serious answer to inflation. Not even their most ardent booster is confident they will achieve productivity improvements of more than one percent over the decade—and inflation is now in the 12-13 percent range. Stein insists that there is "no conceivable increase in the growth of output" that can solve the inflation problem.

A second Stockman/Kemp theory concerning inflation has to do with the old conservative favorite, investor psychology. They argue that if investors expect inflation will come down, it will in fact come down. For example, a major cause of high interest rates is that uncertainty about future inflation has dried up a great deal of long-term investment capital. Businesses increasingly have had to borrow in the short-term market, driving those interest rates upward. If investors believed that inflation were likely to fall, long-term capital would once more flow and interest rates would come down. Since the budget cannot be balanced in the near term, the key is to show firm intention that it will be balanced *in the future*.

Faith in Faith

The Republicans will apparently concentrate their political capital on trying to reduce long-term spending commitments, including some social welfare entitlement programs and such capital-costly projects as highways and mass transit. A commitment to dismantle business regulation and an accord with the Federal Reserve to "insulate" restricted expansion of the money supply from bothersome short-term economic problems completes that set of promises aimed at restoring business confidence.

Such a package, it is held, will inspire investors to provide long-term capital once more, spurring economic growth and the new tax revenues that are absolutely central to the argument that future budgets will actually come into balance. It will work, the theory goes, because people will believe it will work. Again, hard evidence is scarce. Irving Kristol, delineating supply-side economics

for the readers of *The Wall Street Journal*, lamely explains "the interactions are so subtle, the feedbacks so complex, that we do not have any econometric model capable of handling them."

The fundamental difficulty with neoconservative theory is that inflation in recent years did not start because of any sudden change in "expectations" by bond brokers or other Americans. Nor has it been caused primarily by government deficits. Other industrial nations run much higher deficits with lower rates of inflation and unemployment. Balancing the budget, in fact, has only a small effect on the Consumer Price Index: The Congressional Budget Office, for instance, has calculated that cutting \$20 billion from the budget will affect inflation by less than one half of one percent.

Since 1972, inflation has been primarily generated by sudden jumps in the price of oil and food which have periodically kicked off a price-wage spiral, raising material and labor costs throughout the economy, and also undermining investor confidence in the future. This dynamic has been aggravated by the understandable but self-defeating response of the Federal Reserve Board, which alternately tries to accommodate the new demand for credit to avoid recession, and cuts it short to avoid inflation. This further contributes to higher price levels by reducing the supply of new housing and by inhibiting investment in new productivity-enhancing equipment. To be sure, a policy of running sudden, massive government surpluses or a dramatically more severe tightening of the money supply could reduce inflation, but only by risking depression—precisely what the neoconservatives are trying to avoid.

In fact, Stockman and Kemp offer no solution to the fundamental sources of inflation wracking the economy. They have nothing to say about expected food price increases in the 10 to 15 percent range for 1981, and new crude oil price jolts that could raise the cost of oil to a level as high as \$50 a barrel in the near future. Faced with the reality of continuing or possibly accelerating high prices, it is unlikely that skeptical investors will be reassured by Presidential promises of a budget balanced by 1983 or 1984.

Moreover, the Stockman/Kemp proposals will add to inflation. Deregulation of oil has already hiked prices; if and when deregulation is extended to natural gas prices, a similar result will follow. Second, an accord which permits the Federal Reserve Board to concentrate exclusively on slowing the growth of money and credit and stabilizing the dollar will insure high and volatile interest rates, which in turn will increase investor uncertainty and raise capital costs. Higher military spending and tax stimulation of the economy will add further inflationary pressures in those sectors and regions of the economy where markets are tight, while leaving idle capacity elsewhere. In an attempt to avoid Thatcherism, but still re-

main true to conservative premises, Stockman and Kemp end up whipping their horses in different directions—toward expansion on the one hand and austerity on the other. The difficulties of getting where you want to go under such circumstances are well known; the result could well be to repeat Carter's performance.

Still the Stockman/Kemp strategy is probably the Republicans' best shot—Thatcherism and Carterism are dead ends, and the only other alternative is to move left. Moreover, the neoconservatives are doing an important historical service in cracking the Republican Party's ideological obsession with irrelevant budget balancing economics. They have, in fact, reintroduced the importance of jobs to the political dialogue after many Democrats, in an effort to placate what they take to be the conservative "mood," have forgotten what made them a majority party in the first place. The neoconservatives have outflanked the Democrats.

The neoconservatives also have a sense of history rarely found among the "end of ideology" pragmatists and technocrats who dominate much mainstream liberal economics. Stockman and Kemp recognize that if they fail, the pressures for expanding public intervention in the economy will be undeniable. Irving Kristol concludes his defense of the neoconservative position thus:

A skeptic might inquire: What if this new conservative political economy doesn't work? To which one can only reply: It had better work. It is the last, best hope of democratic capitalism in America, and if it fails—well, then conservatives can concentrate on nostalgic poetry and forget all about political economy. Someone else will be in charge of that.

Despite their differences, traditional conservatives share similar fears. Citing the lessons of the Nixon years, Herbert Stein warns that if Republicans weaken, if they succumb to cries of economic pain and flinch at the necessity of a severe recession, a renewal of wage-price controls—and the future discrediting of free market theories—are all but inevitable.

A Road Less Traveled

The Republican debate is slowly closing off the comfortable avenues of escape from our economic dilemma. If neither the massive deflation of Thatcherism, nor the stumble-through, halfway measures of Carterism, nor the supply-side theorizing of Stockman/Kemp are real options, where will this leave us?

It will leave us with nowhere to go but toward controls. The Republican debate reflects the reality that the people of the United States now hold their government responsible for assuring jobs and stable prices. No Administration will stay in power that does not use its authority to stop the economic pain—as Richard Nixon did and Jimmy Carter did not.

But controls cannot work without a plan to restructure

the markets that are generating inflation in the first place. Under present circumstances, a general freeze must be followed by selective wage-price controls that, unlike Nixon's, pay specific attention to eliminating bottlenecks and to reducing the extraordinary instability and jolts in the key sectors. This requires above all recontrol of energy prices coupled with expanded conservation programs, much larger grain reserves and the management of grain exports to assure more stability to the domestic food sector. We also need a combination of credit allocation and tax policies to stabilize and expand the supply of housing—where shortages in many areas are a major contributor to inflation.

Beyond this, we must face the need for a comprehensive incomes policy: The increase in total claims on the nation's output over the long run must be limited to productivity gains. This obviously requires a reconstituted social consensus, which cannot be achieved unless the instability and uncertainty brought about by inflation are

ended. That is why freezing the wage-price spiral and stabilizing prices in the key sectors—particularly those involving life's basic necessities—is so important. It allows us to build a framework for the open throttle planning of a balanced, noninflationary, full employment economy.

It is improbable that the Reagan Administration will lead us down this progressive road. If they are forced to choose controls, it is likely to be in the cynical mode of the Nixon years when they were used to "zap" labor, and temporarily cap the economic system for the 1972 election with no thought of longer term structural solutions. So, as Kristol suggests, it will be up to "someone else."

The Republicans profitably used their years out of office to debate new ideas and fundamental economic issues. Those who think about being in charge once again would be wise to reflect upon the lessons of the recent past. There is probably no way to avoid Dunkirk; the issue is what do we do afterward. □

The Budget and the People: I

Marian Wright Edelman

This article responds to the essay by Loretta Williams, "Race and Class in the 80's: Disentangling a Double Bind," in the issue of March 30. Marian Wright Edelman is president of the Children's Defense Fund. Parts of the article are adapted from testimony given before a Congressional committee.

I AM NOT MUCH interested in debating race versus class issues at a time when the Reagan Administration is seeking to dismantle the fundamental national commitment to poor, black, handicapped and homeless children too long excluded from American society. Under the guise of balancing the Federal budget, President Reagan and Budget Director Stockman are hacking away at programs that are the lifelines of millions of the neediest children and families and through block grant proposals, attempting to wipe out the *right* of handicapped children to go to school, of homeless children to be adopted and of educationally disadvantaged children to catch up with their peers in school. If they succeed, our goal of being a fair and a "Great Society" will be shunted aside as we

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become a selfish and myopic nation that accepts no responsibility for the needy and the vulnerable.

More white than black children and families will suffer from proposed Reagan Administration budget cuts because more white than black families rely on food stamp, Medicaid, school lunch, low income energy and housing assistance, CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) and AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) programs. Yet poor children who are also black face a double burden. Black children and families will be affected most harshly by the current national atmosphere and face the prospects that their hard-earned gains of the 60's, already eroded in the 70's, will be further undermined in the 80's. After decades of systematic segregation and discrimination, the rising tide of opportunity that swelled during the 60's was neither strong enough nor sufficiently long-enduring to enable most black children to gain the opportunities most white children can take for granted. Millions of black children were left behind when the programs launched in the 60's leveled off or declined in the 70's. Although the black

middle class grew, the black poor grew at a faster rate. The median income gap between blacks and whites widened by 14 percent. The gap between black and white youth employment also widened. The relative share of admissions between 1973 and 1978 for blacks into law, medical and professional schools declined.

Color and history inextricably bind the fate of all blacks. The Ku Klux Klan does not segregate its racial hatred by class. Police do not usually check income before stopping any of us or our children in neighborhoods where we are still not expected or wanted. When poor black youths and adults lash out, they burn down black areas as well as white businesses and terrorize other black children, youth and old people as well as whites. An eroding climate for social justice and backlash against affirmative action keep poor blacks out of entry level jobs or promotions; but they also narrow the gates to graduate and professional schools for middle class blacks. Budget cuts for social programs hurt the poor black child and family, but they also hamstring black mayors trying to run cities. Unemployment and inflation crush poor families struggling to survive: They also threaten the health of black businesses and churches and other institutions dependent on black purchasing power and income.

Relocating the Problem

I fear that the present national atmosphere will increase racial as well as class divisions. The current national rhetoric tells us that America is not safe enough or strong enough to work its purposes; that we are full of opportunity for everybody willing to grasp it; that there are a lot of freeloaders not willing to make the effort and that if we make them roll up their sleeves and go to work we can get the economy working again. It tells us that the

Spread the Word

Almost everything that Marian Wright Edelman, Shirley Chisholm, Jeff Faux and Gar Alperovitz have to say in this issue serves to underline, highlight or exemplify something said by one or another of the contributors to "Racism in the 80's," C&C's special double issue of March 30.

Having now tasted of the riches of that issue, readers may wish to make it more widely available to friends, study groups, congregations, students or others. Additional copies may be ordered at the following rates:

1-25 copies, \$1.75 each; 26-50, \$1.30; 51-100, \$1.10; 101+, 95 cents. There is no charge for shipping if the order is prepaid.

Bulk rates for this (April 13) issue are: 1-25 copies, \$1; 26-50 copies, 85 cents; 51-100 copies, 70 cents; 101+, 50 cents.

Write: CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS, Dept. R, 537 West 121st St., New York, NY 10027.

race problem is solved and that poverty—when you count food stamps, housing supplements, and other in-kind benefits—has been eliminated; that the only demons on the horizon are inflation and the Soviet Union.

This rhetoric leads to cries for indiscriminate increases in defense spending and reliance on an economic policy of putting more dollars into the hands of the affluent through untargeted tax cuts. And it assumes the rich will be wise enough to save or spend in ways that will get the economy going. These steps, it is claimed, when combined with efforts to balance the Federal budget, should turn us around.

I hope so. But I also hope that until we are turned around, we will in the interim avoid scapegoating the poor and blacks who have already lost ground in the last decade as a result of a waning economy, growing inflation, unemployment and declining commitment to social programs for the poor. It is true that food stamps, housing supplements and other in-kind benefits have reduced the incidence of poverty. But millions of American families of all races are still not able to meet their basic survival needs. Many of these families are working but cannot squeeze the cost of adequate nutrition, heating bills and preventive health care out of their limited budgets. Yet, these are the very programs that are being cut most severely.

The poverty rates among blacks, particularly among black children, remain astoundingly high. Even after all nonmedical benefits are counted as if they were money income, 22.7 percent of all blacks remain poor. At least one in four black children remains poor. Counting only income, a black child born today faces nearly a one in two chance of being born poor. One in six of all children is poor, making them the poorest of any age group in America. If President Reagan's proposals to cut the budget's social programs become policy, they will become still poorer.

A black baby today is three times as likely as a white infant to die during the first year of life. The black infant mortality rate in 1978 was about the same as the white infant mortality rate in 1950. Because black children are more likely to be poor, they are more likely to be sick. A black child is more than two and one-half times as likely as a white child to live in dilapidated housing and is twice as likely to be on welfare. A black child's father is 70 percent more likely than a white child's father to be unemployed, and when black fathers find work they bring home an average of \$70 a week less than white fathers. In school, a black child is twice as likely as a white child to be suspended, expelled or given corporal punishment; three times as likely to be labeled mentally retarded, but only half as likely to be labeled gifted.

A black male teenager is five times as likely as a white male teenager to be a victim of homicide and is twice as likely to be detained in a juvenile or adult correctional

facility. A black youth is three times as likely as a white youth to be unemployed. A black student who graduates from high school has a greater chance of being unemployed than a white student who dropped out of elementary school. A black college graduate faces about the same likelihood of unemployment as a white high school drop-out.

Taken together, these data etch a portrait of inequality. It is not new. On June 11, 1963, President John F. Kennedy painted a similar grim picture for the nation when he spoke against the violence which surrounded the admission of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi. "The Negro born in America today . . . has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day,



one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed, about one-seventh as much chance of earning \$10,000 a year . . ." He challenged those who denied the reality of inequality by asking how many white Americans would trade places with blacks.

John Kennedy's question was echoed late last year by the mayor of Miami. Commenting on a report on the causes of last May's racial violence in his city, he said: "I wouldn't want to be black in America, would you?" This is a question that all those whites who say blacks have achieved fair treatment in this society should honestly ask themselves as they stand by silently in the face of the present attacks on the Voting Rights Act and other Federal antidiscrimination measures.

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I am neither a doctrinaire nor a defensive liberal. It is not my purpose to defend "big government" in the abstract, nor automatically to support every Federal categorical program, regulation or civil rights compliance order. I would not claim that government has never been guilty of excesses and inefficiencies. But, having already worked for more than a decade to achieve greater state and local government responsiveness to needy children, neither can I accept that turning over all or most Federal programs to state and local governments will cure all our current ills; or that the private sector will take up the slack.

Changes That Work

I do not desire *either* to cling to the past *or* to discard those constructive lessons, programs and approaches from which millions of Americans have gained. As a result of Great Society programs, 15 million Americans, including 5 million children, were removed from poverty; millions of others escaped hunger thanks to food stamps and child feeding programs. I am proud of that. As a result of the civil rights laws of the 60's, thousands of black young people got an opportunity to go on to college, law and medical schools. The number of black lawyers increased by 25 percent, black doctors by 48 percent, though the rate of progress has declined significantly in recent years. Some things *did* work and *do* work, and they deserve to continue.

Like Franklin Roosevelt, I believe "it is common sense to take a method and try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try another." But I believe the converse is equally true; if a method has worked, stick with it while adjusting it to changing needs.

But this is not what the Reagan Administration is doing. It is engaged, rather, in a wholesale attack on existing social programs for the poor and helpless in our society without examining specifically what is working and what is not; what can be improved and what cannot and the reasons why; who needs help and who does not; what will increase productivity and what will not. In the process they are dismantling the fundamental national commitment to groups too long excluded from American society and undermining our purported belief in equal justice for all.

All entitlements are under attack by the Administration, but they are not all the same or undesirable. Not all consolidation or block grant proposals favored in the name of "states' rights" and cutting costs, are good or cost-effective. Not all government is inefficient. Head Start works. It keeps children in school and out of costly special education. Not all private sector services are efficient. We should at least question why defense contractors increased the cost per plane by twice the inflation

rate for the F-18, the E-2C and the CH 53E in 1980 even though the ordering levels were not changed, and why charges for simple 50-caliber cartridges were almost doubled although more than seven times as many as originally planned were ordered.

This is a time when all of us must be tough-minded about our priorities. I recognize that we cannot afford to throw money thoughtlessly at any of our problems. But we also cannot afford to neglect problems that will undermine the productivity of coming generations and cost all of us as taxpayers far more to resolve now and in the future. I recognize that government cannot supply all or most of the answer to the problems of race and poverty, and that the black community must take the lead in speaking up for black children. But the task of erasing the barriers to equal opportunity does not rest solely on the back of the black community. Just as the entire nation condoned slavery and segregation for decades, so the entire nation must work to reverse their effect.

A detailed and specific agenda for improving the conditions of poor black children is set forth in our recent

report, *Portrait of Inequality: Black and White Children in America* (Children's Defense Fund). But the more immediate need is to hold on to those gains that have been made. If we are to stem the backward slide of poor and black children, the religious community that really believes in equal justice must speak up. We should recall again what Martin Luther King, Jr. said in his letter from a Birmingham jail to white church leaders who remained silent in the face of racial injustice and spoke up only to counsel black patience: "Human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability; it comes through the tireless efforts of men willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work, time itself becomes an ally of the voices of social stagnation."

If there ever was a time for Christians to speak up on behalf of the children of poverty and of color, it is now. As concerned as I am about the voices of regression, I am more concerned about the deafening silence of all those who purport on Sunday mornings to stand for decency and fairness. □

The Budget and the People: II

Shirley Chisholm

I BEGIN BY ACKNOWLEDGING the obvious. Yes: We live in confusing and uncertain times. Yes: We hear stepped up attacks on the human rights of poor and undernourished Americans, and on the human rights of dissidents and activists in foreign lands. Yes: We have a new Administration in Washington whose "new beginning" is seen by some as the beginning of the end. Yes: We see a swelling wave of intolerant religious fundamentalism in this country and in other places around the world.

But yes: There are still people—millions of people—who are not willing to wait for us to hit bottom. And yes: We can still win the fight for justice, for freedom, for equality—for *goodness*—if we hold fast and work hard.

Let us examine some of the major issues we must address with renewed vigor in this new decade. Let us look first at the dilemma facing blacks in America in 1981.

We are beginning to ask if the pages of the civil rights laws are yellowing and crumbling in our fingers. We are

wondering if "freedom" has come to mean the freedom to be lonely tokens in the company of "pale males," the freedom to stand idly on city street corners, the freedom to sleep in rat-infested public housing or under bridges that carry commuters away from decaying cities.

It is not difficult for anyone to see the erosion of our past progress in a national mood turning mean. Not only are our legislated gains threatened by zealous right-wingers, but blacks are suffering physical and fatal attacks by deranged killers as well as by resurgent groups of Klansmen and neo-Nazis.

Maybe our collective conscience has been soothed by the array of Federal programs created to end the plagues of hunger, violence, joblessness and discrimination. But that means we now have to skip past those stories in the newspaper that tell us that 25 million Americans still live in poverty; that old people eat pet food in unheated apartments; that people still lose jobs, houses, justice and life because of their race and gender; that Johnny can't read, that Jenny can't find work, that Joey received a life sentence for murdering his robbery victim.

We wonder: How long can we live on the rim of the

Christianity and Crisis

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volcano? How long can we stand at the cliff's edge? The centerpieces of conservative economic policies may well be "disasterpieces" for many. In the coming months and years, we will be even more harshly reminded of this version of the golden rule—"He who has the gold, rules."

Since I have now raised the ever-present issue of economics, let us next consider the policies, the "scenarios," the budget-cutting plans flowing from the new Administration.

The proposed cuts are radical and severe. While they will not reduce the size of government, and will only slow its growth, they will reduce living standards for millions of Americans. The Federal Government will take less from those who can afford to give more, and will give less to those who need more.

Four hundred thousand households would no longer be eligible for food stamps. One-sixth of the food stamp budget, \$1.8 billion, would be cut. Federal matching funds for state Medicaid payments would be reduced \$100 million and would be capped at a figure \$1 billion below the expected need.

Some \$3.6 billion for 300,000 CETA public service jobs would be cut, putting all those people out of work on September 1. There would be a 13 percent reduction in the public housing and rent subsidy programs. Thirty-five thousand new subsidized housing units would not be built. Maximum rents in existing units would rise from 25 to 30 percent of the renter's total income.

Federal outlays to the Aid for Families with Dependent Children program would be cut by \$520 million. Operating subsidies for mass transit would be phased out, along with funds for new subway and rail systems.

School lunch and child nutrition programs would be cut by over one-third, eliminating lunch subsidies for millions of schoolchildren. Funds for higher education grants and loans would be cut by one-sixth, endangering the continued enrollment of hundreds of thousands of today's college students.

Illusory Savings

Nearly 700,000 low-income pregnant or breast-feeding women and their young children would be dropped from the supplementary nutrition program known as WIC (Women, Infants and Children).

Terminated—brought down to zero-funding—would be the Economic Development Administration, the Consumer Cooperative Bank and the neighborhood self-help program in HUD.

Major consolidations are planned for over 45 elementary and secondary education programs, and for 40 social service, health and welfare categorical grant programs. Because of reduced overhead and overlap proponents claim will result from the "block grant" approach, \$1.5 billion would be cut from the education budget, and \$2.5

billion—25 percent—would disappear from the health and welfare budget. The problem with consolidations and "local flexibility," of course, is that the city or state agency may feel, for example, that a certain community-based program for runaways, family planning or youth offenders is no longer worthy of the public funds formerly earmarked from Washington.

That promised tax cut is not going to mean anything to poor people who do not pay taxes anyway, nor will it really help middle-income people who do pay taxes but will be paying higher Social Security taxes and also shelling out up to 35 percent of their income for fuel.

The economic theories on which President Reagan relies have praiseworthy goals but shaky foundations. They revel in the rhetoric of "supply side" economics. But I should not have to explain in too much detail why his policies are not really "supply side" policies, nor why "supply side" remedies are inappropriate at this time. Nothing is more "Keynesian," more "demand side," than a 30 percent tax cut. Since the average American family presently saves only six percent of its income, it is obvious that virtually all of the tax cut money will go straight into consumption, replacing real income previously lost through inflation and further boosting inflationary pressures.

And where is the evidence that our inflation is rooted in inadequate supply—too many dollars chasing too few goods? American industry right now is running at only 80 percent of its total output capacity, millions of workers are idle and parking lots are overflowing with unsold new cars.

Business investment is already at a healthy level. Further broad *untargeted* investment incentives would probably do little more than heat up the nonproductive markets in antiques, gold, government bonds and other kinds of asset-swapping, not asset-building.

It is obvious, however, that investment levels are too low—way too low—in our nation's human capital. How can new workers be more productive if we scrimp on their education, on their training or on the condition of their surroundings? New buildings and new machines are only part of the equation: Even more important is the labor that produces and then provides healthy markets for all of industry's products.

The Administration wants to talk its way out of inflation and apply unsound or untried policies to combat it. I just do not see how it is going to work.

Of course, nobody supports waste, fraud and abuse in government. But nobody is going to end waste, fraud and abuse simply by lopping billions of dollars off programs that have a direct and often vital impact on individual lives.

Nobody wants armies of lazy bureaucrats. But nobody wants Federal money ladled out unchecked; and nobody wants lax enforcement of regulations that save hundreds

and thousands of lives every year.

Nobody wants large budget deficits. But none of us wants our program cut, and we all want our taxes cut. And nobody wants to be reminded that the Federal debt, as a percentage of total gross national product, has declined from nearly 60 percent in 1960 to around 30 percent last year, or that budget deficits in other industrial democracies are larger, per capita, than our own.

Nobody wants American industry to falter. But nobody wants to point to corporate profits drawn off to speculative, nonproductive investments; nobody wants to admit that German and Japanese companies are better managed and more socially conscious, and pay heavier taxes than comparable American firms.

Nobody likes expensive oil. But nobody questions the recent decontrol of oil prices that will give oil companies another \$12 billion in profits this year, and will cost each American family up to \$500 more in fuel bills.

Nobody wants war. But nobody objects to spending over \$1 trillion—remember, President Reagan told us that amount would be a pile of thousand dollar bills sixty-seven miles high—\$1 trillion over the next five years preparing for a war that can have no possible winner.

Nobody wants inflation. But nobody says how lowering the Federal budget by less than two percent of our GNP, how boosting energy prices by billions a year, how injecting more dollars in the economy with a 30 percent tax cut, how putting 300,000 CETA workers on unemployment or welfare—nobody demands to know how all that will stop inflation.

A Call to Regression

Sure, this is an attempt to bring back a time when government was off our backs. What must be remembered is that in those earlier days, now recalled so fondly, people were at the mercy of businesses that cheated and overworked them, people struggled through swinging business cycles that brought regular depressions, people breathed sooty air and drank impure water, people slept in rural shacks and urban tenements, people ran from floods and duststorms, people starved and froze.

Some people were just arriving on our shores, and they were resented, exploited and isolated by groups of earlier immigrants. And some people, because of the color of

their skin or because of their sex, had few rights and fewer opportunities.

I, for one, have no interest in returning to those days—to an America where government had not yet taken seriously its constitutional mandate to “promote the general welfare.” But we are in serious danger of doing just that.

During the past two decades when liberals were spearheading great reforms and consolidating major gains—and building faith in the vital and positive role of “good government”—the forces of the right were also organizing. Conservatives took advantage of, and even hastened, the crash in government’s popularity resulting from the Viet Nam War and Watergate. Joined by corporations fighting needed regulation of their industries, and bolstered by religious fundamentalists, their voices became louder and louder.

We heard: “Government is incompetent”; “Government wastes our money”; “Get government off our backs!” Able to criticize without having the responsibility to make government work, the conservatives attacked “boondoggles,” “giveaways,” “welfare queens” and “over-regulation.”

Rarely, if ever, was even lip service paid to the critical social problems that government was attempting to solve. Rarely, if ever, was there mention of the legitimate need for government action.

But where else can the desperate poor, the hopelessly handicapped, the helpless victim of blatant discrimination—where else can they turn if not to the government? Who else can insist on clean air and water; who else can oppose asbestos, PCB’s, cotton dust and other killers in the workplace—who else if not the government?

None of the programs and regulations under attack were created out of thin air. Each had a reason, a good reason, for being. Whether it enabled a mother in Brooklyn to buy food, or a family to drive from Manhattan to Cape Cod, a need was recognized and addressed.

But now the conservatives control the government they have so long maligned. As one conservative Congressman recently put it: “We conservatives are a lot like the dog who has been chasing the car wheel. We’ve finally caught it and now have to figure out what to do with it.”

But the dog is beginning to bite at that wheel. The conservatives are starting to tear down, to cut back programs that, with each passing year, have been better administered and more effectively meeting goals.

As serious as the conservative threat is, however, it is the religious fundamentalists who should possibly concern us the most. The “born again” mass media preachers remind me of the saying that “nothing is so easy as to be religious, on paper”; except now I would have to amend that to say “nothing is so easy as to be religious on television.”

But these TV preachers—spokesmen of what is really a “Moral Minority”—remind me of something far worse.

Change of Address

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In their sometimes remarkable biblical interpretations, where they find rejection of the Panama Canal Treaty and justification for higher military expenditures, I hear the echoes of earlier rationalizations of the institution of slavery. Prior to the Civil War, Southern clerics explained time and again from their pulpits that slavery was preordained, was acceptable, was even "moral." Like their present-day brothers of the cloth, they were equally horrified by the true practice as by the doubting of the teachings of Jesus Christ.

Their fundamentalism, their total reliance on faith without thought, their alleged belief in the literal truth of every word in the Bible, is also reminiscent of the Iranian clerics; and we know how it can breed divisiveness, prejudice and struggle among human beings. One brief example: An editor of an Evangelical newspaper recently refused to attend a Bible conference because also participating was a Roman Catholic—Phyllis Schlafly.

Religion and Rationality

I believe that the US churches must not permit such divisive struggle. In the same way that we joined with abolitionists, marched with integrationists and rallied with pacifists, in that same spirit we must now prove that religion can be rational, that the daily conduct of believers is more important than either the vigor of Sunday observance or the volume of moral directives.

Doctors & the Death Penalty: Hippocratic or Hypocritical?

Nicholas C. Ulmer

THIS YEAR'S annual meeting of the American Medical Association (AMA), to the surprise of many, passed the following resolution: "[A] physician, as a member of a profession dedicated to preserving life when there is hope of doing so, should not be participant in a legally authorized execution."

The resolution was introduced in response to the increasing number of laws providing for executions to be carried out by the injection of a lethal dose of drugs, presumably barbiturates and paralytic agents. (Such laws are currently in force in Idaho, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas.) The avowedly painless procedure legislated by the new statutes was ad-

NICHOLAS C. ULMER is a Washington attorney and an active member of Amnesty International. He will write on other legal aspects of capital punishment in a forthcoming issue.

vanced as "more humane" than other execution methods. Many legislative proponents of execution by injection believed it would encourage the use of the death penalty by making it more acceptable to the public, and that it would diminish death penalty challenges on grounds of "cruel and unusual punishment." Finally, it was advanced as being cost effective.

Despite the resolution, however, the extent to which medical personnel, and doctors in particular, are to be so involved in administering the lethal injection remains unresolved. Although none of the statutes actually require a physician to inject the toxic substance, involvement by doctors in prescribing the dosage and in preparing and supervising the injection seems inevitable. Active participation by doctors in such a procedure appears to contradict the fundamental medical concept, originating in the Hippocratic oath, that a

There are many social issues that remain to be addressed in this nation. They just cannot be resolved with the rhetoric of right-wing religion, right-wing economics, or right-wing sociology.

Some of those now in power would have us believe that America's strength lies in the collective selfishness and greed of its individual citizens. I disagree. Individual achievement: Yes. Hard work, with ample reward: Yes. But, to accept poverty in the midst of affluence, to condone intolerance and injustice in the land of the free: No.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke in this church against the wrongness of our making war on peasants in Southeast Asia. He was not reluctant to lead on questions other than civil rights. He was not afraid to speak for, to fight for, to live for and to die for the great human principles that, if adhered to, would assure a better future.

I do *not* believe, as did Nietzsche, that "the last Christian died on the cross." I do believe that millions of people have the flame of true Christian values burning in their hearts. I do not believe that Dr. King, or Jesus Christ, died in vain.

They—you—we—are the footsoldiers in the battle for a better world. I have hope—and I may even have some confidence—that we will someday be victorious. □

physician should do no harm, that he or she is trained to save life, not to end it.

It was with these concerns in mind that the AMA delegates—a group not always known for progressive views—passed the resolution against physicians' "participation" in executions. A closer examination of the AMA action reveals, however, that the action eliminated only the most obvious participation by doctors in executions. It avoided the *appearance* of medical sanction for executions, but left the physicians' more subtle and pervasive role unchanged. A companion AMA resolution stated: "[A] physician may make a determination for certification of death as currently provided by law in any situation." This innocent sounding language disguises the central role doctors play in executions, and dodges the moral issues which this involvement raises.

A Matter of Record

I have a copy of an official execution record from the Lethal Gas Chamber at San Quentin, Calif. Printed on the left-hand side of the form are phrases describing the successive stages in the execution

procedure: "Prisoner Entered Chamber, . . . Sodium Cyanide Enters, Gas Strikes Prisoner's Face, Prisoner Apparently Unconscious, Prisoner Certainly Unconscious." To the right of these stages are columns for the time, the prisoner's pulse and respiration, and remarks; these columns are filled in by a physician. In the record I have, for instance, a doctor sitting just outside the chamber, using a stethoscope and other instruments strapped to the dying prisoner's body, carefully recorded that the prisoner's pulse rate jumped to 180 as she heard or smelled the gas entering the chamber. A half a minute later, her pulse was down to 60. Six minutes later, she breathed her last breath. All this is meticulously noted on the prepared form and signed by the officiating physician.

Execution by electrocution also requires

a physician just outside the death chamber to listen for the condemned's heartbeat, and pronounce the prisoner dead. A doctor in that situation who informs the executioner that the prisoner is *not* dead after one or more jolts of current (a relatively common occurrence in electrocutions) is essentially saying: "The prisoner needs another jolt."

Given that reality, the AMA resolution that "certification of death by a physician is not a part of the act of execution and is not, therefore, improper" becomes disingenuous. It implies, falsely, that the presence of a physician at executions is a mere convenience instituted so that the prisoner can promptly be pronounced dead. In fact the physician's role in executions is central and required by statute; indeed, most state death penalty laws require that *two* physicians be present.

Significantly, the original AMA resolution had stated that a physician not only should not participate in an execution but that he or she "should be excluded." These words were, however, deleted by amendment.

Doctors certify the mental and physical health of death row prisoners (for only the healthy may be executed), witness, aid and monitor the progress of executions and, finally, pronounce the prisoner dead. Physicians are essential to the death penalty process. Standing by the executioner, they lend their prestige and implied approval to the executioner's actions. In short, in the very process of raising the long-overlooked issue of physicians' involvement with the death penalty, the AMA has adroitly avoided all but its most obvious manifestation. □

Organizer

(Continued from page 99)

notwithstanding the resonance and the many angry tempests out of which its syllables have come, from pen or tongue. It is a great word, whose history, I suppose, remains unwritten, because that history has yet to be enacted (*Democratic Vistas*).

The Work of Empowerment

Fourth, the actual work of community organizers can be summed up in three basic activities.

(1) *Organizers listen to people to find out what their problems are and what they're willing to do to solve them.*

In my experience with low to middle income people in a variety of organizational settings, and of a wide range of racial and ethnic backgrounds, these problems fall into two basic categories. On the one hand are what might be called "objective" problems—the streetcorner is dangerous; my child isn't learning to read in school; we don't have enough money to meet our monthly bills; we can't find a house to live in that we can afford; it takes over an hour to get to work on the bus. The list could go on.

On the other hand, there is a "subjective" element to these discussions that is equally important. It has to do with people feeling powerless, inadequate, incompetent, inferior and so on. These feelings

result, at least in part, from the experience of people who are the objects of decisions made for them rather than participants in decisions they make for themselves.

(2) *Organizers inspire and agitate people to take action.*

Organizers are hope peddlers convincing people that they can fight City Hall. To lay to rest the negative implications of the word "agitator," let me share a story told by an old black man in a Mississippi mass meeting I attended in the summer of 1963. "You know," he said, "they call you 'outside agitators.' Well, in the old style washing machine there was a thing called an agitator. It went back and forth through the suds and clothes. You know what it did? It got the dirt out." That's good enough for me. Organizers are always pushing people to participate, to get out from behind the TV set and come to a meeting or an action. They do not easily take "no" for an answer.

(3) *Finally, organizers think through with the people with whom they work the methods, strategies, philosophy, values and tactics necessary for them to act with confidence and success.*

Thus they are involved in on-going training of people in skill development, analysis of problems and proposed solutions to them, discussion of strategies and tactics, and reflection on the relationship of action in the day-to-day world to the values of the democratic and Judeo-Christian traditions. The good organizer is a creative educator, involved in the development of the whole person.

At their worst, community organizers can be a group of macho manipulators more interested in their own reputations than in the work professed by this new profession. They can engage in media hype and fail to develop people. At the worst, we create the same kinds of dependency that we criticize in the "helping professions." Most of these failures, I think, come out of impatience with people and anger at injustice. We are sometimes so anxious to correct a specific evil that we forget about the broader commitment to democracy that we have made. In this regard "bad" organizers are like "bad" teachers, preachers, doctors or lawyers. They fail to carry out the commitment they profess.

The Markings of Success

The test of a fully successful community organization is a tough one—few pass . . . and so it can be said that few community organizers have yet mastered the field. This test of a successful community organization includes several measures, and there are probably some that aren't noted here. A successful community organization should, at the end of three to five years, at least:

—be actively defending and advancing the interests and values of the people it represents;

—have a democratic structure, with large-scale participation of the community in making basic policy decisions, electing leaders, and determining the basic govern-

ing rules of the organization;

—be self-funding through a combination of dues and fund-raisers planned and implemented by the people themselves so that the core budget of \$50,000 to \$150,000 is paid for by the people themselves;

—have a list of victories on issues of concern to the people, who now act with confidence and competence when they deal with politicians, bureaucrats or businesspeople whose decisions might affect the lives of the people of the community;

—have expanded the horizons of local leaders so that they see the interrelationships of issues in their community as well as the relationship between problems in their community and broader decision-making or power structures;

—have developed among the people an appreciation and understanding of the values and procedures of democracy.

Few of us have met all these tests—especially that of developing self-funding organizations. Yet this is not to say that we have failed. Many of these standards have been matched. At the same time, we must recognize that we face extraordinarily powerful adversaries; we are working in a relatively new field whose techniques and understanding of its task are constantly growing. We have succumbed to the temptation of cooptation that is so available in this country, particularly that of thinking that the government and/or corporations will fund and, continue to fund those who would restrain and make accountable their power.

Whatever our weaknesses, I think community organization presents this country its best opportunity to realize the values of the Judeo-Christian and democratic traditions. □



Government of South Africa." "Whatever service" that book "may have done for the cause of South Africa," Howell writes; and that government "—at least in the past—has found means of rewarding its friends." Thus, a South African connection is insinuated.

Yet—at the ellipsis dots above—the author states, "No allegation is made here that the rumors have substance"—having just passed them on. And looking back over several columns he states, "None of this . . . offers solid evidence, much less smoking-gun proof, of anything improper in Lefever's relations with South African officialdom"; his views only make him "potentially useful." Does Ernest Lefever have to deny that he beats his wife?

Item. "Lefever does not quite say that any level of repression by an anti-Soviet state is tolerable, but . . ."

Item. ". . . both Lefever and Nestlé strongly declare that Nickel's study was well under way before Nestlé had ever heard of the EPPC." Still, despite these declarations, Howell continues to suggest the contrary. "Whatever the extent of Nestlé's influence on EPPC . . ." *The Wall Street Journal* identified Lefever with EPPC, "no mention was made of the Center's connection with Nestlé." "It will not be possible to check Lefever's figure of 2.8 percent [Nestlé's minor part of current funding from diversified sources] until July, when the IRS form reporting contributions to EPPC becomes a public document."

The last remark comes close to asking us to believe that Lefever may be both a liar and a fool—for floating the 2.8 percent rumor before the Senate hearings.

Item. Lefever's quoted remarks about his boss, Walter Van Kirk, during his three years as associate director of the NCC's Department of International Justice and Good Will are, I judge, characterizations Van Kirk would agree with, and could not have been spoken with any ill will. He was wise enough to hire Lefever and after him Kenneth Maxwell, who was a trained political scientist and—if memory serves me right—succeeded Van Kirk. Then came the time when the thing to do with power was to confront it, and Maxwell was eased out. Again, who or what changed?

Correspondence

Lefever: Correction and Update

TO THE EDITOR: A typographical error appears in my article on "Ernest Lefever at the Edge of Power" in the issue of March 2. Lefever was ordained in 1942, not 1952.

The article takes note of *The Wall Street Journal's* failure to mention the financial support given by the Nestlé company to Lefever's Ethics and Public Policy Center in connection with its publication on January 14 of Lefever's essay on the infant formula controversy. The connection had been disclosed earlier by Morton Mintz in *The Washington Post*. After C&C had gone to press, I received a note from a *Journal* editor in response to my query, saying that the *Journal* had been unaware of the matter: "Lefever says he saw no reason to tell us and we missed the Mintz article."

LEON HOWELL
Washington, D.C.

Lefever Article: For Shame

TO THE EDITOR: For shame, that Leon Howell wrote the article "The Rise of Ernest Lefever" (C&C, March 2). For shame, that you then published it. The author may be "among the most befriended and befrienders of people we know," as you say. But he is certainly not a responsible investigative reporter.

How shall I justify these expletives? Easily. The connecting tissue of the article is a series of innuendoes. I begin with the least obvious.

Item. Lefever "for years earned his living as

a senior fellow of the liberal-oriented Brookings Institution" (italics added). That is like saying in an expose on Wayne Cowan that for years he "earns his living" as editor of C&C. Or like my saying that Howell "earns his living"—or at least his left-leaning reputation—by writing scurrilous articles. A professional reporter, for a professional journal of Christian opinion, should say, simply and honorifically, that Lefever in his profession was senior fellow at Brookings.

Item. He was always "on the other side" at Brookings. Howell may be too young to know, or he failed as an investigator to find out (and so piece together a less "fragmented memory") that Brookings was not always "liberal leaning." It used to be regarded as unbiased, objective; indeed, some thought, conservative; not the Democratic-party-in-waiting. It is an optical illusion to find here evidence of a Lefever lunge rightward. To quote that "other side" remark without a background of change at Brookings seems to me to be a low blow. Speaking truth with love requires asking: Who changed more? So also of the WCC.

Item. The Senate panel may "ask for data about other possible sources of EPPC (Ethics and Public Policy Center) funding, including the Government of South Africa. Rumors about the later tie have circulated for more than a year . . ." (italics added). Lefever's book condemning the WCC, *Amsterdam to Nairobi* (for squeamishly supporting terrorism) was "one of the ways in which Lefever has expressed his general support of the 'moderate'

Item. "Lefever stresses his tie with Hubert Humphrey . . . In fact the connection was brief—nine months—and largely peripheral." In fact, Ernie was one of Humphrey's speech writers during his campaign for the Presidency. He met him at the airport to warn him (tired from a 16-day, 49,025 mile trip to Viet Nam) of the hostile audience awaiting him as the featured speaker at the 25th anniversary of C&C, February 25, 1966. (John Bennett hardly concealed the fact that he wished Humphrey could be "uninvited.") That is hardly peripheral. I'd wager \$12 (in honor of the twelve Apostles) that Lefever drafted Humphrey's tribute to Niebuhr. (See Hubert H. Humphrey, "A Tribute to Reinhold Niebuhr," C&C, May 30, 1966; and note especially John Bennett's reading on that occasion an *as yet unpublished* editorial "We Protest the National Policy in Viet Nam," C&C, March 7, 1966, in Wayne Cowan's introductory account of the occasion.) A fair-minded person must raise again the substantive question, Who changed? and still another, Who denied the Presidency to Hubert Humphrey?

Item. "The language and judgments of Lefever '65 do indeed resemble those of Lefever '81—and the judgments would indeed be jarring if put forth by any of the present contributors to or editors of this journal." Never were truer words written! But I do not undertake in this letter the task of showing that C&C departed from Niebuhr's "Christian realism"—not Lefever. And hell hath no fury like a miscalled "liberal" scorned.

PAUL RAMSEY
Princeton University

P.S. Lest someone insinuate that I "made no mention" of my "connection" with EPPC, perhaps I should say that I am a founding member of its incorporated board of directors. In that capacity (1) I don't need—nor am expected—to agree with all its publications, (2) I judge that EPPC would be counted among "the Human Rights Community" by anyone who has the capacity to distinguish people who disagree on *means* while agreeing on ultimate goals; if an impartial observer discerns bias he will also observe that EPPC is a needed corrective in Washington of views emanating from the Institute for Policy Studies, and indeed from many of the churches' "Washington Offices," (3) I have seen the EPPC budgets, (4) I can't vouch for the 2.8 percent figure—not being good at figures, (5) I have not consulted Lefever in writing this letter, nor did he solicit it, and (6) my preacher father—and independent spirit—used to say about "tainted money," "Taint enough!"

Editor's note:

Leon Howell will be asked for comment on

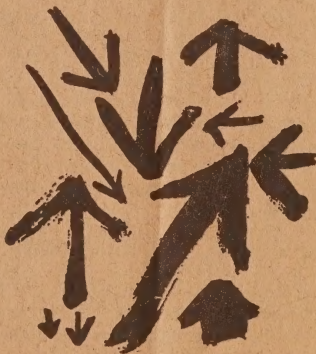
Paul Ramsey's letter on his return from the Far East. On another point: The speech Ernest Lefever drafted for Hubert Humphrey was not the one Humphrey delivered. Having been warned (by me, through other Humphrey aides) that the audience at the 25th anniversary dinner would react hostilely to the Lefever approach, a second draft, by William Lee Miller, was hurriedly commissioned. The speech as given drew from both drafts.

The President as Pollster

TO THE EDITOR: I commend the following open letter to President Reagan to the attention of your readers:

Dear Mr. President:

An article in the March 17 edition of the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that at a luncheon with women members of Congress you based your defense of your proposed budget in part on a "survey of 'help wanted' ads" in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Los Angeles Times*, and further that your "survey" consisted of counting the pages of the "Help Wanted" sections. The article then stated that "his survey of 'help wanted' ads had led him to conclude that Federal programs for the poor are encouraging the unemployed not to go back to work."



I am sure that you must have cited other factors in defense of your proposed budget cuts (at least I hope so), but I am appalled that you would even consider such a "survey" to be a valid indicator for public policy. I am currently unemployed, and I read the "help wanted" ads in the *Chronicle*. In reference to your survey, I want to ask you: Did you read the want ads to find out what kind of jobs are being offered? Did you calculate the percentage of job offerings that are suitable for an unskilled person who did not complete high school? Or which ones pay enough so that such a person, were he or she a single parent, could afford child care?

I have other questions: How many people receiving public assistance have you "sur-

veyed"—to ask them personally why they aren't working? Have you ever gone to the casual labor section of a state unemployment office to ask those waiting there what it's like trying to get such work and what it's like trying to make it on the income such work produces?

One more question, Mr. President: Have you read Michael Harrington's book, *The Other America*, and, if so, what is your response to his analysis of poverty in the United States? (If you haven't read it, I would urge you to do so.)

I'd like some reassurance, Mr. President. It appears to me, from all I have read, that you and your advisers are almost completely out of touch with poor people—out of touch with the reality of poverty in the United States—out of touch with people in the human services field who are trying to provide services to poor and disenfranchised persons. I would appreciate your response.

R. PAUL TULL
Berkeley, CA

CLASSIFIED

The Company at KIRKBRIDGE gathering May 8, 9, 10, 1981 will be held at Kirkridge, Bangor, Pa. Francis V. Tiso, M. Div., Eastern Religion editor of Seabury Press will present "A World of Grace: Learning From Spirituality East and West." For more information, write:

Anthony Ciccariello
520 W. Gray St.
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